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R E M A R K S

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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CHAPTER

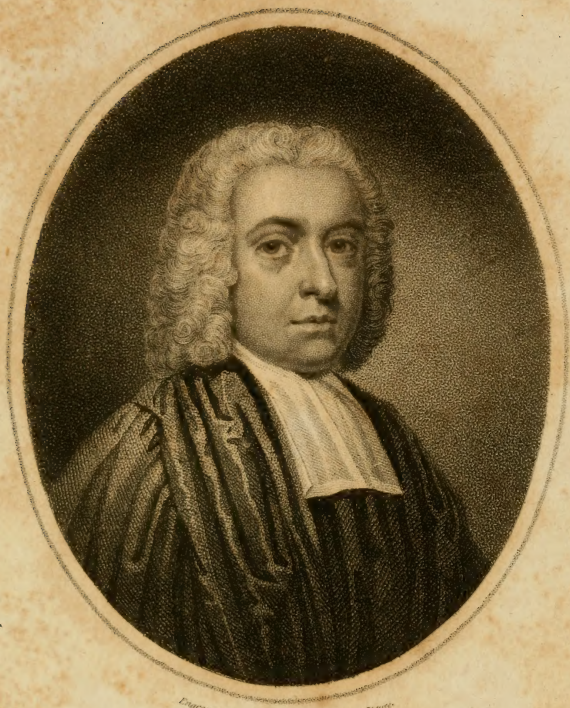
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THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

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*Engraved by J. Hopwood, from an Original Picture.*

*John Fortin D.D.  
Archdeacon of London &c.*



John Breckinridge.

# REMARKS

ON

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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BY JOHN JORTIN, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF LONDON, RECTOR OF ST DUNSTAN IN  
THE EAST, AND VICAR OF KENSINGTON.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

*Διὰ δυσφημίας ἢ εὐφημίας.*

VOL. I.

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L O N D O N :

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## *THE LIFE AND WRITINGS*

OF

DR JOHN JORTIN.

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**JOHN JORTIN** was born in the parish of St Giles in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, October 23. 1698. His father, Renatus Jortin, was a native of Bretagne, in France : He came into England when a young man, along with his father and other friends, about the year 1685, when the Protestants fled from France on account of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Soon after his settlement in this country, he married Martha, the daughter of the Rev. Daniel Rogers of Haversham, in Buckinghamshire.

Mr Renatus Jortin was appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber to King William, in the year 1691 ; and was afterwards successively secretary to Admiral Edward Russell, Sir George Rooke, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel ; with the last of whom he perished,

rished, when his ship struck upon the rocks off Scilly, October 22. 1707.

After this melancholy event, Mrs Jortin removed into the neighbourhood of the Charter-house, to accommodate the education of her son, who was now nine years of age. He learned French at home, and spoke it well : At the age of fifteen he had completed his education at school, after which he perfected himself at home in writing and arithmetic.

On the 16th of May 1715, he was admitted pensioner of Jesus College in Cambridge. He early discovered his progress in classical learning, for which he was afterwards so much distinguished. At the recommendation of his tutor, Dr Thirlby, he was engaged, while yet an undergraduate, to translate some of Eustathius's notes on Homer for Mr Pope \*. In January

\* Mr Jortin, in his own account of this engagement, among other things, mentions that he inserted in his papers, some remarks on a passage, where he thought Mr Pope had made a mistake. " When that part of Homer (says he) came out, in which I had been concerned, I was eager, as it may be supposed, to see how things stood ; and much pleased to find that he had not only used almost all my notes, but had hardly made any alteration on the expressions. I observed also, that in a subsequent edition, he corrected the place, to which I had made objections."

" I was in some hopes in those days (for I, was young) that Mr Pope would make inquiry about his *coadjutor*, and take  
" some



nuary 1719, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, and in October 1721, was elected Fellow of Jesus College: He soon after took the degree of Master of Arts. In the two following years he acted as moderator at the disputations and as taxor.

It was in the course of the year 1722 that Mr Jortin published a few Latin poems, entitled, “*Lusus Poetici*:” they were well received, and have been different times printed.

He was ordained deacon by Dr Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, Sept. 22. 1723. and received priest’s orders from Dr Green, bishop of Ely, June 24. 1724. and on the 20th of January 1727, he was presented by the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, to the vicarage of Swavesey, near Cambridge.

In the year 1728, Mr Jortin married Anne, daughter of Mr Chibnall of Newport-Pagnell, in Buckinghamshire. About three years after this, he resigned his vicarage of Swavesey, and settled in London, where he became reader and preacher at a Chapel in New-Street, belonging to the parish of St Giles in the Fields.

On

“some civil notice of him. But he did not; and I had no  
“notion of obtruding myself upon him. I never saw his face.

On his removal to London he published “Four Sermons on the Truth of the Christian Religion.” The substance of these he afterwards incorporated with his “Remarks on Ecclesiastical History,” and other works.

In the years 1731 and 1732, Mr Jortin, in conjunction with some literary friends, published “Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors, Ancient and Modern,” in a series of numbers, making together two volumes octavo. This critical work was translated into Latin, and printed at Amsterdam, and it was continued by the learned Burman and others, under the title of “*Miscellanæ observationes criticæ in auctores veteres et recentiores; ab eruditis Britannis inchoatæ, et nunc a doctis viris in Belgis et aliis regionibus continuatæ.*”

In 1734, he continued his critical disquisitions, and published “Remarks on Spencer’s Poems; on Milton; and on Seneca;” which were afterwards reprinted in a collection of his writings, intitled, “Tracts, philological, critical, and miscellaneous.” His criticisms on the two English poets have received the praise of Bishop Newton and Mr Warton.

Mr Jortin was, in 1737, presented by the Earl of Winchester

Winchester to the vicarage of Eastwell in Kent, worth about one hundred and twenty pounds a-year; but finding that the air of the place did not agree with his health, he soon resigned it, and returned to London. He continued to preach at the Chapel in New-Street until he was appointed by his friend Dr Zachary Pearce, then Rector of St Martin's in the Fields, afternoon preacher at a Chapel of Ease belonging to that parish, in Oxenden Street.

In the year 1746, he published his "Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion," which included the substance of the sermons before mentioned, and have gone through several editions. The subjects of these discourses are, the prejudices of the Jews and Gentiles; the propagation of the gospel; the kingdom of Christ; the fitness of the time when Christ came into the world; the testimony of John the Baptist; the truth, importance, and authority of the Scriptures of the New Testament; and the gospel considered as it is grace and truth,

Dr Zachary Pearce being appointed to the see of Bangor, Mr Jortin, at Dr Pearce's request, preached the consecration sermon in the parish church of Kensington on February 21. 1747, which was afterwards published. On the recommendation of Arch-  
bishop

bishop Herring, and Bishop Sherlock, he was appointed, by the Earl of Burlington, on the 26th of December, 1749, preacher of the Lecture founded by Mr Boyle ; an appointment honourable from the nature of the institution, and from the distinguished characters of the clergy who had preceded him in the discharge of the duties of it.

Instead of publishing the discourses delivered at this Lecture, as had hitherto been the custom, Mr Jortin judiciously resolved to throw the substance of them into the form of dissertation. He foresaw that, copious as the subject was, a succession of hands would exhaust it, and unavoidably occasion a repetition of the same thoughts in a diversified method and style. Such was the origin of his most celebrated work, “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History ;” the first volume of which appeared early in the year 1751.

The same year he received from Archbishop Herring, the rectory of St Dunstan in the East, London, worth two hundred pounds a-year ; “ A favour (says “ he) valuable in itself, but made doubly so by the “ giver, by the manner, by being conferred upon one “ who had received few obligations of this kind, and  
“ by



“ by settling him among those whom he had great reason to love and to esteem.”

The second volume of “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History” made its appearance in the Spring of 1752. Mr Jortin dedicated it to his patron, Archbishop Herring, in the language not of “ modern politeness, but “ of ancient simplicity.” In excuse for not giving a laboured display of the good qualities of his benefactor, he tells him, with true classic purity, that it was a custom among the ancients, *not to sacrifice to heroes till after sun-set*. That this was not a mere happy thought or bare compliment, he demonstrated after the Archbishop’s decease \*.

Jortin, amidst his learned labours, used to unbend his mind, by listening to the charms of music. He was even himself a performer upon the harpsichord. But he not only considered it as an amusement and relaxation, but attended to it as a science, as appears from his elegant and ingenious “ Letter concerning the Music of the Ancients.”

But he did not suffer these inferior studies to divert him from the greater work in which he had engaged. Accordingly the third volume of his “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History” was published in 1754.

It

\* See his *Life of Erasmus*, Vol. I. p. 42.

It was in the year 1755, that Mr Jortin received from his patron, the Archbishop, the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In the same year, he published his “Six Dissertations on Different Subjects.” They are theological, moral, and historical; and treat on the doctrines of divine assistance and human liberty; on the controversies concerning predestination and grace; on the duty of judging candidly of others, and of human nature; on the love of praise and reputation; on the history and character of Balaam; and on the state of the dead, as described by Homer and Virgil; in which last he gives scope to his talents and fondness for philology and classical learning.

Dr Jortin published the first volume of his “Life of Erasmus,” in quarto, in the year 1758; and by the publication of the second volume in 1760, he completed a work, which from the subject of it, “extended (says Dr Knox) his reputation beyond the limits of his native country, and established his literary character in the remotest universities of Europe.” The celebrated Le Clerc who was concerned in publishing an edition of Erasmus’s works at Leyden, had drawn up his life in French, and inserted it in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*. Dr Jortin, who found Le Clerc’s way of thinking and judging for the most part correspondent with his own, informs us  
that

that he took this Life as his ground-work. At the same time he made large additions in every part of the work, especially where Le Clerc began to grow remiss.

In the year 1762, Dr Jortin was appointed chaplain to Dr Osbaldiston, now promoted to the see of London, and was also collated by his Lordship to the prebend of Harleston, in the cathedral church of St Paul's. Within the same year the Bishop gave him the vicarage of Kensington, worth about L.300 a-year; soon after which he quitted his house in Hatton-garden, and went to reside there. Bishop Osbaldiston gave a still farther proof, about a month before his death, of his determination to patronize our author, by appointing him Archdeacon of London in April 1764; and it has been generally said, that the Bishop had offered him the Rectory of St James's, Westminster; but that he chose to reside at Kensington as a situation better adapted to his advanced age.

Our author testified his zeal for the Reformation, by contributing "Some remarks" to Dr Neve, who was employed in writing an answer to Phillips's "History of the Life of Reginald Pole," a laboured, plausible

plausible insult both upon the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of this country, and “undertaken, (says Dr Jortin) to recommend to us the very scum and dregs of popery ; and to vilify and calumniate the Reformation and the reformers, in a bigotted, disingenuous and superficial performance.”

In 1767, he re-published the three volumes of his “Remarks on Ecclesiastical History,” in two volumes, reducing not the matter, but the size of the type.

On the 27th of August, 1770, Dr Jortin was seized with a disorder in his breast and lungs. Notwithstanding all medical assistance his trouble continued to increase ; and without suffering much pain in the course of his illness, or his mental faculties being in the smallest degree impaired, he died on the 5th of September, in the 72d year of his age. The last words which he uttered, were to a female attendant who offered him some nourishment, a very short time before his departure, to whom he said, with much composure, “ *No ! I have enough of every thing.*”

He left the following direction in writing for his funeral : “ Bury me in a private manner by daylight, at Kensington, in the church, or rather in the  
“ new



“ new church-yard, and lay a flat stone over the  
 “ grave. Let the inscription be only this :

JOANNES JORTIN

MORTALIS ESSE DESIIT

*Anno Salutis* [MDCCLXX.]

ÆTATIS [LXXII.]

Dr Jortin left a widow (who died June 24. 1778, and was buried in the same grave) and two children, Roger Jortin, Esq. of the Exchequer Office, Lincoln's Inn, and Martha, married to the Rev. Samuel Darby, formerly Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and now Rector of Whatfield, near Hadleigh, Suffolk.

It now only remains to take notice of the posthumous works of Dr Jortin. In 1771, and 1772, his Sermons and Charges were published to the extent of seven volumes. It is said that he intended them for publication. To a friend who once asked him, “ Why “ he did not publish his Sermons ? ” he said, “ They “ shall sleep, 'till I sleep.”

A continuation of his “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History ” was published in 1773, in two additional volumes ; which make the third and fourth volumes, according to the second edition of the former part of  
 the

the work published in 1767, but the fourth and fifth according to the first edition.

So late as 1790, there appeared in two volumes, “Tracts, philological, critical, and miscellaneous (by Dr Jortin) consisting of pieces many before published separately, several annexed to the works of learned friends, and others, now first printed from the author’s manuscripts.” We have already noticed the greater part of those which were formerly printed. The principal additions consist of illustrations of different passages in the Old and New Testaments; and strictures on the articles, subscriptions, and tests.

TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
RICHARD,  
EARL OF BURLINGTON,  
TRUSTEE FOR THE LECTURE

APPOINTED BY

*THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE, ESQ.*

THESE

*R E M A R K S*

ARE INSCRIBED BY ·

HIS *LORDSHIP'S*

MOST OBLIDGED,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

A. D. 1751.

JOHN JORTIN.





## P R E F A C E.

WHAT is here offered to the public is not a regular treatise, but only a collection of detached Remarks on Ecclesiastical History and ancient writers, in which the order of time is neither strictly observed, nor greatly neglected, and no anxious accuracy is bestowed upon the dates of years. This is a necessary premonition to the reader, who else would seek what he will not find.

Yet was it designed, slight and imperfect as it is, for the service of *Truth*, by one who would be glad to attend and grace *her* triumphs ; as her soldier, if he has had the honour to serve successfully under her banner ; or as a captive tied to her chariot wheels, if he has, though undesignedly, committed any offence against her.

Greater undertakings on these subjects are a task fit for those who are blessed with conveniences, spirits, and abilities, and a task sufficient to exercise all their talents ; for Ecclesiastical History is a sort of enchanted land, where it is hard to distinguish truth from false appearances, and a maze which requires more than Ariadne's clue.

Whilst exalted geniuses discern with a kind of intuitive knowledge, they who have less penetration may be permitted now and then, where reason and religion

are not injured by it, to pause and doubt. Not that doubting is desirable and pleasant ; but it is rather better than affirming strongly upon slender proofs, or taking opinions upon trust.

And yet there are instances in ecclesiastical antiquities, of spurious authors, forged records, and frivolous reports, where hesitation at this time of day would be improper, and where a man is not to remain for ever in suspense, and to hear what every patron has to say, who starts up, and pleads the exploded cause of his ragged clients.

The intention of this work is to produce such evidence as may support and confirm the truth of Christianity, and shew that the providence of God has appeared in its establishment and in its preservation ;—to avoid peremptory decisions on some lately controverted questions, and seek out a way between the extremes ;—not to pronounce those things false which may perhaps be true, nor those things certain which are only probable, nor those things probable which are ambiguous ;—and to try the experiment, whether, by this method, a reader may not be gently led to grant all that is required of him, and rather more than less ;—to set before men some of the virtues, as well as failings, of the ancient Christians, whence they may draw practical inferences ;—to excite in their hearts a love for Christianity, that best gift of Heaven to mankind, and a respect, though not a superstitious veneration, for those good men, who, if they could not dispute for it altogether so well as the present generation, yet, which is more, could die for it ;—to reject those trifles which persons of greater zeal than discernment would obtrude upon the world as golden reliques of primitive Christianity ;—and to add several things

things of a miscellaneous and philological kind, which will serve, at least, to diversify the subject. Such is the intention of the work: may it atone for its defects.

There is some comfort arising from a candid observation of the younger Pliny; *Historia quoquo modo scripta delectat*. A homely collection of remarkable transactions and revolutions has ever something to recommend it to favour: and if this be true of history, it is likewise true of thoughts and observations on history, if they be not quite impertinent. They who represent it as a perfect loss of time to peruse such authors as the *Historiæ Augustæ scriptores* (though they are illustrated by excellent commentators) and the *Byzantine writers*, have a taste too polite and fastidious; since, where better historians are not to be had, those of an inferior class must supply their place, and become necessary and valuable on many accounts. A French writer is on our side, who says, *Tout livre est bon; Every book is good*: for thus he translates the Latin title of a treatise of Philo Judæus, *Omnis bonus liber est; Every good man is a free man*. It was well for him that he did not live within the reach of the Inquisition, which might have taken this as a reflexion on the *Index Expurgatorius*.

The author would willingly escape the dislike of some of those persons with whom perhaps he will be found not entirely to agree. He and they are engaged in the same common cause, and he hopes that, for the sake of many remarks contained in this work, they will excuse the rest; as on his side, a diversity of sentiments, in some points, lessens not the regard and value which he has for them, and which they so justly deserve. In one respect he pretends to be ex-

tremely like Joseph Mede. *I have a conceit, says that excellent person, that some opinions are in some sort fatal to some men, and therefore I can with much patience endure a man to be contrary-minded, and have no inclination to contend with him.—There is more goes to persuasion than reasons and demonstrations, and that is not in my power.—There are few men living who are less troubled to see others differ from them in opinion than I am; whether it be a virtue or a vice, I know not.*

One of the noblest uses which can be made of Christian antiquities would be to learn wisdom, and union, and moderation, from the faults, indiscretions, and follies, and from the prudence, charity, and piety of our predecessors; to observe carefully what was good, and what was blameable in remoter ages, and thence to improve ourselves, as we are a Christian nation, by removing the blemishes and defects, from which perhaps we are not free, and by adopting every thing commendable which we may have neglected.

A Christian society, formed upon such a plan, would not altogether answer the fair and bright idea which the imagination represents, because perfection dwells not here below, and some bad materials must of necessity enter into the structure; but it would be more than a faint copy and image of that church, which the beloved disciple had the pleasure to see *coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband, who had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the light thereof*, Rev. xxi.

For this excellent end and purpose, the divine Providence seems to have preserved ecclesiastical records, and has commanded devouring time to respect them, that posterity might receive instruction from those venerable



nerable and silent monitors, and not want examples to shun and to follow.

Christianity reduced to its principles, is more plain and simple than is commonly imagined, and is calculated for general utility.

When the first teachers of the gospel, the apostles of Jesus, died, their authority, in a great measure, died with them, and devolved not upon their disciples—but it still lives in their writings.

Christianity, though so much of it ever subsisted as to distinguish it advantageously from Paganism, Judaism, Mahomedism, Deism, varied considerably, and adopted several disagreeing non-essentials, according to the times and the people who entertained it.

A clear and unpolluted fountain, fed by secret channels with the dew of heaven, when it grows a large river, and takes a long and winding course, receives a tincture from the various soils through which it passes.

When Christianity became a bulky system, one may trace in it the genius of the loquacious and ever-wrangling Greeks; of the enthusiastic Africans, whose imagination was sublimed by the heat of the sun; of the superstitious Egyptians, whose fertile soil, and warm climate produced monks and hermits swarming like animals sprung from the impregnated mud of the Nile; and of the ambitious and political Romans, who were resolved to rule over the world in one shape or other. To this we may add the Jewish zeal for trifles, arising from a contracted illiberal mind; the learned subtilty of the Gentile philosophers; and the pomp and ceremony of Paganism.

As

As soon as Christian societies began, debates began; and as soon as Christianity was by law established, debates grew more violent. It is not in the wit, or in the power of man, or rather, it is an impossibility, to prevent diversity of opinions, since this is the unavoidable result of human imperfection, and human liberty, and is not to be removed, unless we had more light, or less agency.

It is related of a grave Roman magistrate, that, when he came to Greece as Proconsul, he assembled together the philosophers at Athens, the head-quarters of wit and logic, and told them that he was much concerned at their dissensions, and advised them to agree at last in their opinions, and offered them his authority and assistance to re-unite and reconcile them; upon which they all agreed in laughing at him for his pains. *Cicero De Leg. i. 20.*

Councils after councils convened to settle the differences amongst Christians; and sometimes they met so frequently, that they might be called *Quarter-Sessions*, as well as *Councils*. But Gregory Nazianzen, a man of learning, a Christian, a bishop, and a father of the church, has told us, that, for his part, he chose to avoid all such assemblies, because he never saw any that had good success, and that did not rather encrease than lessen dissensions and quarrels, *Epist. lv.* and in many other places, where he repeats the same complaints in verse and in prose.

The Christians had never agreed concerning the time of keeping Easter; but when Victor was bishop of Rome, about A. D. 196, the contest grew warm, and Victor excommunicated, or attempted to excommunicate, the Asiatic churches, which would not comply with his infallibility, for which Irenæus reproved him,

him, as he well deserved. Thus the domineering spirit began to exert itself betimes. The Council of Nice afterwards settled the affair, and then the few Quartadecimans who stood out were called heretics, according to the custom of calling every thing heresy that offends the majority. But they must have been a stubborn and refractory set of people, to wrangle on about such a trifle, and not to yield to the far greater number in a thing of no consequence to faith or morals. They should have agreed to break the egg at the same end with their neighbours. If the upper side has been sometimes imperious and over-ruling, the lower has been as perverse and unpersuasive.

When the fathers assembled at Ephesus, and, headed by Cyril of Alexandria, had decreed that Nestorius should be deposed, and that the Virgin-mother of our Saviour should be called *Mother of God*, the people of Ephesus, who had been in miserable fears and anxieties, with transports of joy embraced the knees, and kissed the hands of the bishops; a people, as we may suppose, warm and sprightly, and very much in earnest. Their pagan ancestors had signalized themselves by their zeal for Diana.

If General Councils have dogmatically decreed strange things, little, national, protestant synods have often acted in a manner full as arbitrary. One that was held in France, A. D. 1612, offended at something that *Piscator* had taught concerning *justification*, compelled all who should go into orders to take this oath: *I receive and approve all that is contained in the Confession of faith of the reformed churches of this nation, and promise to persevere therein to my life's end, and never to believe or teach any thing not conformable to it: and because some have contested about the sense of the eighteenth*



*teenth article, which is concerning justification, I declare and protest before God, that I understand it according to the sense received in our churches, approved by national synods, and conformable to the word of God, which is, that our Saviour was obedient to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but in our stead, that all the obedience which he paid to the law is imputed to us, and that our justification consists, not only in the remission of sins, but also in the imputation of his active righteousness.—And I promise never to depart from the doctrine received in our churches, and to submit to the regulations of national synods on this subject. Synodes Nationaux, &c. par Aymon. These men would no more have parted with an inch of their theological system, than the Muscovites once would with an inch of their beards.*

Here follows another decree, made in France A. D. 1620.

*I swear and promise before God, and this holy assembly, that I receive, approve, and embrace all the doctrine taught and decided by the national synod of Dort—I swear and promise that I will persevere in it all my life long, and defend it with all my power, and never depart from it in my sermons, college-lectures, writings, or conversation, or in any other manner, public or private. I declare also and protest, that I reject and condemn the doctrine of the Arminians, because &c.—So help me God, as I swear all this without equivocation or mental reservation.*

They should have thus prefaced the ordinance: *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden, than these necessary things which follow, &c.*

To



To compel any one to swear that he will never alter his opinions about controversial divinity, is a grievous imposition. It might have made some unstable men go over to Popery out of resentment, and say, *If I must surrender body, soul, sense, and understanding, the church of Rome shall have them, and not you.* Thus,

*Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra :*

whilst Christianity blushes and grieves that she can say so little in behalf of her children.

I pass over the synod of Dort, in which the prevailing party oppressed, as they often do, the wise and the learned, and entailed an irrational and uncharitable system on their posterity.

It is said that Pope Innocent the tenth, (I think) when the Jansenian controversy was so warmly agitated, told his learned librarian Lucas Holstenius, that he was very uneasy about it, and unwilling to decide it, because it was a point which he understood not, and had never studied. Holstenius replied, that it seemed not necessary for his Holiness, at that time of life, to begin to study it, and much less to decide it, since it was an intricate subject, which had divided, not only the Christian world, but the greatest philosophers of antiquity ; that if the contending parties were left to themselves after they had reasoned, and railed, and wrangled, and declaimed, and preached, and written against one another, and eased themselves that way, they would at last sit down and be quiet for very weariness, or for want of hearers and readers : which advice seemed not at all amiss to the Pope, and was favourably received, but not followed.

Postellus was a scholar and a fanatic, two things that are seldom found together. Latin and Greek helped

helped to damage his head, and Hebrew quite overset him. He gave into cabalistic interpretations of the Old Testament, and believed in the revelations of some Sibyl, some daughter of Esdras, who prophesied in his days, and was one of those who want to let in new light upon the church, whilst they want more to have the light shut out, and the flaws and crevices patched and stopped in the ὑπερφῶν, in the upper chamber at home. The poor man was accused of heresy; upon which he entered boldly into the lion's den, surrendered himself a prisoner to the Inquisitors at Venice, offering to take his trial, and to demonstrate his innocence; and thus gave an additional proof of his disorder, whilst, with the adventurous lover in the fable,

*Tenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,*

*Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum*

*Ingressus, Manesque adiit, Regemque tremendum,*

*Nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda.*

Postellus, like Orpheus, found favour in the sight of the *Infernal Powers*: They behaved themselves, who would believe it! as Philosophers and Christians upon the occasion, and did him justice; for after a fair hearing, they passed sentence on him, declaring that he was not a *heretic*, but only *mad*; *Postellum non esse hæreticum, sed tantum amentem*. Lettres de Simon, i. 23. If the Inquisitors would act thus, it would be better for their prisoners in this world, and for themselves in the next. It will then be found a poor excuse for their cruelty, that it helped to fill the church with nominal catholics, and to keep up an unity of exoteric faith in the bond of ignorance, fear, and hypocrisy.

Men will compel others, not to think with them, for that is impossible, but to say they do; upon which they obtain full leave, not to think or reason at all, and this

this is called *unity*; which is somewhat like the behaviour of the Romans, as it is described by a brave countryman of ours in Tacitus,—*Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

Disputing enflames fiery zeal, and men bestow blows upon their antagonists, especially when arguments fall short. *Invalidum ursis caput, vis maxima in brachiis et in lumbis*, says Solinus. If their hands are tied, they bestow a plentiful effusion of curses, and denounce divine judgments; but if they are at full liberty, they bestow both: and then cruelty is called charity, charity to the soul, and this same charity, as it is of a fruitful and diffusive nature, produces anathemas, informations, calumnies, banishments, imprisonments, confiscations, inquisitions, and so forth.

Tillemont, speaking of the scandalous persecution in the reign of Constantius, when the *Arians* oppressed the *Consubstantialists*, and warmed with his subject, breaks out into these reflections,—*Conviction and persuasion cannot be brought about by the imperious menaces of princes; nor is there any room left for the exercise of reason, when a refusal to submit brings on banishment and death.—Such doctrines proceed from the invention of men, not from the Spirit of God, who forces and compels no one against his will.* His observations are just: you can no more subdue the understanding with blows, than beat down a castle with syllogisms. A lucid ray shot through the soul of this superstitious, though else valuable writer, as a flash of lightning in a dark night. There is indeed between the human understanding and truth a natural and eternal alliance, which is suspended and disordered by ignorance, passion, bigotry, prejudice and selfishness, but can never be totally broken. When a man suffers, and sees his friends suffer



fer for conscience sake, he perceives the beauty of the sacred rule, *Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them* : but when the orthodox persecute the heterodox, this pious author winks hard, and can see no great harm in it. No more could Augustine, when, upon second thoughts, but not the wisest, he contended for the doctrine of persecution, in some letters, which Bayle has taken to pieces very handsomely in his *Philosophical Commentary* ; happy if he had always so exercised his abilities, and had left his *Manichæans* to shift for themselves ! Sarah, says Augustine, and Hagar, are types of the Catholic church and of the Heretics. When Hagar offends her mistress, this is downright rebellion : when Sarah beats Hagar, this is due correction. So is it with the spiritual and the ungodly ; they are always at variance, always buffeting and bruising each other, but the bastinadoes of the righteous are sanctified by the good intention, and by the salutary effects.

Socrates, the historian, like an honest man, censures Theodosius, an orthodox bishop, for persecuting the Macedonians, vii. 3. upon which Valesius thus delivers his opinion : *Celebris quæstio est, &c. It is a celebrated and much controverted question, whether it be lawful for Catholics, and particularly for bishops, to persecute heretics. I think it is necessary to have recourse to a DISTINCTION. It is certainly unlawful to vex them, as Theodosius did, for the sake of extorting money ; and also to prosecute them as criminals, and to thirst after their blood, as Idatius, and some other bishops of Spain acted towards the Priscillianists. But it is, and ever was permitted to the Catholics to implore the aid of princes and magistrates against heretics, that they may be restrained and kept in order, and that they may not insolently exalt*



*exalt themselves above the Catholics, or insult and deride the Catholic religion. Augustine indeed confesses that he had formerly been of opinion, that heretics should not be harassed by Catholics, but rather allured by all kind of gentle methods. Yet afterwards he changed his opinion, having learned by experience that the laws made by the emperors against heretics had proved the happy occasion of their conversion; and he observes, that the converted Donatists had acknowledged that they never should have returned to the church, but have lived and died in their errors, if they had not been, in a manner, incited and attracted, by the punishments and mulcts of the imperial laws. This passage of Augustine, which is very elegant, is in the 48th Epistle to Vincentius, to which may be added what he has said in the 23d ch. of the first book against Gaudentius.*

In some places which Valesius knew, and in some places which he knew not, the *Odium Theologicum*, like a poisonous tree, has reared its head and spread its arms, and the neighbouring plants, instead of receiving shelter and protection, have sickened and withered beneath its baleful influence; yet was it a friendly covering to weeds and nettles, and the fox lodged safely at its root, and birds of ill omen screamed in its branches.

The groundless surmises of a booby, or of a bigot, have hurt many a man of sense, and qualified him to be registered in an Appendix to *Pierius de infelicitate literatorum*. Where arbitrary power has prevailed, nothing has proved more profitable than either obsequious dulness, or a political palsy in the head, nodding and assenting to all.

*Omnia omnibus annuens;*

as Catullus says of old age,

Opinions

Opinions start up, and flourish, and fall into disgrace, and seem to die ; but, like Alpheus and Arethusa, they only disappear for a time, and rise into light, and into favour again.

What men call heresy is often a *local* and a *secular* crime ; for what is heresy in one century and in one country, is sound doctrine in another ; and in some disputes, as in the Nestorian and the Pelagian controversies, to mention none besides, it is a nice thing to settle the boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and the only way to be safe is to have recourse to *implicit faith*, and to imitate the prudent monk, who, when Satan would have drawn him into heresy, by asking him what he believed of a certain point, answered, *Id credo quod credit ecclesia*. But *Quid credit ecclesia* ? said Satan. *Id quod ego credo*, replied the other : and Nestorius, if he would have slept in his own bed, should have said, *Id credo quod credit sanctissimus Cyrillus*. Nestorius perhaps suffered no more than he deserved, because he had been a persecutor himself ; but such violent proceedings about such points, in different times and places, have inclined many persons to suspect that in those assemblies, some were talkative, quarrelsome, disingenuous, and overbearing, whilst others were passive dolts, and *pedarii senatores*. Every age has continued to produce wranglers of this kind, who now have the rest which they would not give other people ; and whose works follow them, and are at rest also.

Theodosius the first, made severe laws against heretics, about A. D. 380, and required of all his subjects that they should follow *the faith of Pope Damasus, and of Peter of Alexandria* ; for which, and such like holy and wholesome ordinances, to be found in  
the

the Theodosian code, he is extolled by Tillemont and many others, as a man of God. The best thing that can be said for him is, that he was not, on these occasions, as bad as his word, but threatened more than he performed. As to Damasus, whatsoever his faith was, it had been better for him to have lived and died a presbyter, and one cannot say of him that he *fought a good fight*, when he fought for his bishopric. His braves slew many of the opposite party, and great was the fury of the religious ruffians on both sides, in this holy war. Pious times, and much to be honoured or envied!

What is to be done then with one who is, or who is accounted, or whispered to be erroneous? Why, *Distinguendum est*: you must not shed his blood, nor enrich yourself with his spoils; but you may contrive other ways to bring him to a right mind, or to beggary: ways, which resemble the method of Italian assassins, to beat a man with satchells of sand; no blood is shed, and no bones are broken, but the patient dies by the operation.

A gentleman and a scholar, as Valesius was, should have nothing to do with such *distinctions*: he ought rather to *distinguish* himself from the vulgar by a larger mind, by detesting persecution in every shape, were it only for this reason, that it is the bane of letters; by accounting all the learned and ingenious, wheresoever dispersed, or howsoever distressed, as brethren, and by loving and serving them, unless they be *rude* and *insolent*, *vicious* and *immoral*. Would Valesius have had such countrymen of his as Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, Salmasius, Bochart, Blondel, Daillé, sent to inhabit the bastille, or the gallies? would he have had them directed, corrected, and insulted, by a king's



confessor, and by persons who knew nothing besides their breviary, if peradventure they knew that ? This is not said to insinuate that the Gallican church had not in his time, and in all times, many excellent men : nothing can be farther from the author's thoughts ; but the fomenters of oppression and persecution have been usually either void of letters, or learned dunces at the best, and have accounted it an insufferable impudence in any man to be wiser, and more knowing than themselves. How could Valesius even name *Augustine*, who, ingenious as he certainly was, and respectable as he may be on other accounts, yet by the weak things which zeal, not ill nature, urged him to say on this subject, tarnished in some degree his own reputation, and espoused a cause, full of absurdities which all the wit of man cannot defend, and of spots which all the water of the ocean cannot wash off !

In this world, in this great infirmary, among other distempers with which poor mortals are afflicted, is an intemperate zeal, or a spirit of party, which, when it arises to a certain pitch, is not to be restrained by the gentle bands of reason : they are broken asunder, as a thread touched with fire. The imagination then plays her part, and raises an ugly phantom, and the man spends his rage upon it, and sometimes by mistake strikes at his friend,

—*et fit pugil, et medicum urget.*

Whilst the inconveniencies are no greater than this, we should patiently bear with the defects and disorders of such men, as with the frowardness of those who are in pain, and, as Seneca says, *more optimorum parentum, qui maledictis suorum infantium arrident* ; like tender parents, who smile at the little perversities of their children ; for there are *old* as well as *young* children,



dren; and perhaps more indulgence is due to the former than to the latter, since they cannot be spoiled by it, being past curing.

And here the civil magistrate is of excellent use, to keep the peace among his fractious subjects, or at least to keep them from doing one another a bodily mischief. Forbear to draw your sword upon your adversary, says Minerva to Achilles; abuse him as much and as long as you will :

Ἄλλ' ἄγε λῆγ' ἔριδος, μηδὲ ξίφος ἔλκεο χεῖρί,

Ἄλλ' ἦτοι ἔπεισιν μὲν ἀνείδισον, ὥς ἑσέαι περ.

But worse than fanatical fervour is the sedate spirit of religious tyranny, arising from the lust of dominion, from sordid self-interest, and from atheistical politics, taking its measures, and pursuing its ends deliberately, void of all regard to truth, and of every tender sentiment of pity and humanity.

Thus Christianity degenerated, and things went on from bad to worse, from folly to corruption, from weakness to wickedness; and then the Reformation made considerable amendments.

THE Christian world is now divided into the reformed and unreformed, or rather, into those who are not, and those who are members of the church of Rome. The latter, as they deal least in reason, are the most disposed to use the illuminating arguments above-mentioned, which serve as a *succedaneum* in the place of reason. They would willingly force upon us a mode of Christianity, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. Our religious establishment is far better, and highly valuable, and we should be ungrateful if we did not esteem it; but the more simple and unexceptionable a religion is, the dearer will

it be to those who understand it, and know what it is to enjoy it. In such a religion, charity would be a gainer, and faith would be no loser, and it would be an easier task to satisfy doubters, to bring over infidels, and to re-unite believers. Before the Jews shall be converted, and the Gentiles flow into the church, it is reasonable to suppose, that in the Christian world there will be more harmony, more mutual compliance and forbearance, than at present is to be found.

As the opposers of the gospel have frequently had recourse to arguments *ad hominem*, and have taken advantage from modern systems, and from the writings of divines of this or that persuasion ; so the defenders of revelation have often found themselves under a necessity of reducing things to the venerable Christianity of the New Testament, and of adventuring no farther ; and of declining the rest, as not essential to the cause, and to the controversy.

The removal even of small defects, and improvement from good to better, should always be the object of every man's warm wishes, and modest and peaceable endeavours. Modest and peaceable they ought certainly to be ; for there is a reverence due to the public, to civil society, to rulers and magistrates, and to the majority ; and decency and prudence are neither *marks* of the *beast*, nor that *worldly wisdom* which stands condemned in the gospel. In all such endeavours, great care and discretion are requisite. Difficulties of various sorts present themselves, and difficulties not to be slighted, some of which shall be passed over in silence, because they might possibly rather tend to irritate than to appease, and give an offence which should be industriously avoided. There is a fear of consequences, arising in cautious and diffident

fidest minds, a fear of losing what is valuable by seeking what is desirable ; there is a wide-spread indifference towards every thing of a serious kind, and it is sadly increased by that thoughtless dissipation, and those expensive follies, which are so prevalent ; there is also a settled dislike of the gospel among too many, who are so ignorant, and so prejudiced, as to account Christianity itself to be of no use and importance.

These considerations may incline melancholy persons to imagine, that it is vain to expect amendments of a more refined nature, which seem to depend on a favourable concurrence of circumstances seldom united, and that we have not a foundation which can bear the superstructure.

It is much to be wished, that more effectual methods could be contrived to suppress vice, and to assist the willing, and to compel the unwilling to earn their bread honestly in the days of their youth and strength, and thereby to secure the peace of civil society, and to save from ruin so many poor creatures, of whom it is hard to decide, whether they be more wicked, or more miserable, and whose crimes it would be far better to prevent than to punish. If we could do any thing to remove, or to diminish these dreadful evils, moral and natural, the love of God and of man would be our reward. But these are things which perhaps are reserved for another generation :

*—manet nostros felix ea cura nepotes.*

Let us in the mean time be thankful for what we have ; for our religion and liberties ; for a disposition, which may be called national, to acts of charity public or private, and for that portion of learning, and that skill in liberal arts and sciences, which we possess, suf-



ficient to secure us from the contempt of our neighbours, though not to give us any claim to precedency. What we possess of erudition, must in a great measure be ascribed to the prevailing force of education, emulation, and custom ; for so it is, the love of letters begun at *school* and continued at the *university*, will usually accompany a man through all the changing scenes of this life, improving his pleasures, and soothing his sorrows. Happy is it, that the pious and judicious liberality of our ancestors founded and endowed *those two noble seminaries*, which have been our best security against ignorance, superstition, and infidelity.

### ESTOTE PERPETUÆ !

An agreeable remembrance of former days presents itself,

—*nec me meminisse pigebit alumnae,*

*Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.*

But let us also do justice to the theological merits, and useful labours of persons of another denomination in this country, of whom *qui tales sunt, utinam essent nostri*.

Polite learning, or *humanity*, helps to open and enlarge the mind, and to give it a generous and liberal way of thinking, not what is vulgarly termed *free-thinking*, and belongs to vulgar understandings. *Learning* has a lovely child called *moderation*, and *moderation* is not afraid or ashamed to shew her face in the theological world ; the number of her friends is increased, and, whilst our civil constitution subsists, they are in no danger of being sewed up in a bag with a monkey, a viper, a wit, and a free-thinker, and flung into the next river. That *liberty of prophesying* may prevail, and that *profane licentiousness* may be restrained, are wishes which should always be joined together.

*And*



*And now, if men will say I persuade to indifferency, I must bear it as well as I can. I am not yet without remedy, as they are; for patience will help me, and reason cannot cure them.* The words are borrowed from a pious, ingenious, learned, charitable, and sweet tempered bishop, who, with a noble candour and generous openness, pleads the cause of *liberty of prophesying*, and who never was censured for it by any man worth the mentioning, though probably he was reviled by those who called Tillotson an *Atheist*. If these two excellent *Prelates*, and *Erasmus* and *Chillingworth*, and *John Hales*, and *Locke*, and *Episcopius*, and *Grotius*, and many who shall not be named, had been contemporaries, and had met together **FREELY** to determine the important question, *What makes a man a Christian, and what profession of faith should be deemed sufficient*, they would probably have agreed, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions which they might all have had on some theological points. There have been others, indeed, who, on such an occasion, would have given us an ample catalogue of *necessaries*, the inference from which would have been, that it must needs be a very learned, and a very subtle, and a very ingenious thing to be a good Christian: for some of these *necessaries* are of so refined a nature, that the understanding can hardly lay hold of them, or the memory retain them:

*Ter frustra comprehensa, manus effugit imago,  
Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno.*

Some of the best defenders of Christianity, down from Origen, no saint, it seems, but worth a hundred and fifty saints who might be mentioned, have been unkindly used and traduced by *injudicious* Christians, for a hard-

er epithet shall not be given to them. *Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?* Even civil war has ceased, when the common enemy has been at the door, and mad factions have joined to repel him, and to crown the deserving with laurel garlands; but Christians, when besieged by powerful and formidable infidels, have found leisure and stomach to contend, whether the light which shone about Christ at his transfiguration was created or uncreated.

What has been here suggested was with a view, not to dictate, no not even to advise, but only to moderate a prejudice, which lies deep in the heart of an Englishman and a Churchman, that as his own vales, hills, rivers, and cities, surpass in beauty and convenience any thing that the world affords, so his own religious constitution is free even from all appearance of defect, and shadow of imperfection. This may be called *amare focos, et lares*: the first we easily excuse, as an amiable weakness in the Englishman; let us shew the same favour to the other in the Churchman: but a little more candour, and a little less partiality would do us no harm. The author aims at nothing beyond this, and therefore ENTERS INTO NO PARTICULARS. If the general intimation be proper, from whom can it come more properly than from one whose name or address can give no sanction to it, and raise no prejudices in its behalf? so that it must rely upon its own reasonableness, and stand destitute of all other recommendation.

As to particulars, his opinion would never be asked in such cases, and, if it were asked, he would perhaps, like Simonides, desire a day to consider, and then another, not through an affectation of humility, nor, if he may be credited, through hope of pleasing, or fear of displeasing, but through a real diffidence,  
and

and a consciousness of the difference between discerning what may be speculatively right, and judging what is practicable. An application to moral and theological studies will lead a person to some skill in the first, if he has a mind open to conviction ; but the latter requires a genius and a knowledge of a different sort.

Besides all this, the middle course between too *low* and too *high*, between the *serpent* and the *altar*, is somewhat hard to keep :

*Neu te dexterior tortum declinet in anguem,  
Neve sinisterior pressam rota ducat ad aram.*

Ovid. Met. ii. 139.

It may therefore be more adviseable for him to examine *himself* in serious silence, and to consider what passes *within*, and in his own little circle, where the circumference almost touches the centre ;

Ὅστι οἱ ἐν μεγάροισι κακόντ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.

which single line, according to the wise Socrates, contains a complete system of philosophy.

If he desires that others would receive with Christian candour these suggestions, which, whatsoever they be, proceed from a good intention, and are not the language of self-interest, he desires no more than he is very willing to return. But be that as it will, he is not at all disposed to contend about them.

*Errare potest : litigiosus esse non vult.*

Such contentions beget, or keep up enmity ; and he had rather glide through the world like a shadow, obscurely and quietly, and meet with *few* censurers ; for to have *none*, is a blessing which never was designed for a writer on ecclesiastical subjects.

For this, and for other good reasons, authors should avoid, as much as they can, replies and rejoinders, the usual consequences of which are, loss of time, and loss  
of



of temper, Happy is he who is engaged in controversy with his own passions, and comes off superior ; who makes it his endeavour that his follies and weaknesses may die before him, and who daily meditates on mortality and immortality !

Let us hear a wise man who thus speaks to himself, and to us : *May my last hours find me occupied in amending and improving my heart : that I may be able to say to God, Have I violated thy commands ? have I ever accused thee, and complained of thy government ? I have been sick and infirm, because it was thy appointment ; and so have others, but I willingly. I have been poor according to thy good pleasure, but contented. I have had no dignities : thou hast withheld them, and I have not thought them even worthy of a wish. Didst thou see me sad and dejected on these accounts ? Did I not appear before thee with a serene countenance, and cheerfully complying with thy sacred orders ? Deal with me and dispose of me as thou wilt ; thy will is mine ; and if any one shall say that thou hast been unkind to me, I will defend and maintain thy cause against him. Wilt thou that I depart hence ? I go ; and I return thee my sincerest thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to call me hither to this great assembly and entertainment, and hast permitted me to contemplate thy works, to admire and adore thy providence, and to comprehend the wisdom of thy conduct. May death seize me writing and meditating such things.*

It is needless to say whence these reflections are taken ; the owner is so well known : but they can never be too often cited, and if the stoical self-sufficiency which breathes in some parts of them were corrected by Christian humility, they would be to many of us a *proper lesson* for the day, and remind us of the resignation that is due to an all-wise and all-gracious providence.

REMARKS



# REMARKS

ON

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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IT has been often observed, that Christianity made its appearance in the most proper time, and under a favourable concurrence of circumstances. Something has been said on this head in my fourth *discourse* on the *Christian Religion*: what is now offered to the reader is partly a continuation of the same subject; and these *remarks* are intended, in some measure, as a supplement to those *discourses*.

Christianity began to gain ground in Judea and its neighbourhood in the reign of Tiberius, a very wicked prince, but who was so occupied with his lusts and with his cruelty towards considerable persons whom he hated, envied, or feared, and was also naturally so slow and indolent, that either he heard little of this remote and rising sect, or thought it beneath his notice, and so did it no harm.

It is probable that Pilate, who had no enmity towards Christ, and accounted him a man unjustly accused, and an extraordinary person, might be moved by the wonderful circumstances attending and following his death to hold him in veneration, and perhaps  
to

to think him a hero, and the son of some deity. It is possible that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of these transactions to Tiberius; but it is not at all likely that Tiberius proposed to the senate that Christ should be deified, and that the senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favourably disposed towards Christ, and that he threatened to punish those who should molest and accuse the Christians \*. This report rests principally upon the authority of Tertullian, who was very capable of being deceived, and Eusebius had it from him, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 2. The ancient Christians might have been misinformed in this, as in some other points. Tiberius was of an irreligious disposition and a fatalist, and little disposed to increase the number of the gods, and the burden of Atlas: *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior: quippe addictus mathematicæ; persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi* †. He hated foreign superstitions, Egyptian and Jewish rites: *Externas cæremonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit* ‡. He and the senate had expelled the Jews from Rome ||, and about the time of Christ's crucifixion he had destroyed an illustrious family, for this, amongst other reasons, that divine honours had been paid to one Theophanes an ancestor of theirs: *Datum erat crimini quod Theophanem Mitylenceum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset: quodque defuncto Theophani cælestes honores Græca adulatio tribuerat* §. Augustus commended Caius for not worshipping at Jerusalem: *Caium nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens, apud Hierosolimam non supplicasset, collaudavit* ¶: and Tiberius made it a rule

\* See *Le Clerc Hist. Eccl.* p. 324. † Sueton. Tiber. 69.

‡ Sueton. Tiber. 36. || Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus.

§ Tacitus, Ann. vi. 18. ¶ Sueton. Aug. 93.

rule, *omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observare*, as he says of himself in *Tacitus*, Ann. iv. 37. Observe also that the Jews persecuted the apostles and slew Stephen, and that Saul made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison, and that Pilate connived at all this violence, and was not afraid of the resentment of Tiberius on that account.

The custom which the Romans had to deify and adore their emperors, most of them after their decease, and some of them during their lives, even though they were the vilest of mankind ; the apotheosis of Antinöus, Adrian's favourite ; the contempt which many emperors, as Tiberius, and Caius, and Nero \* shewed towards their gods ; the endeavour of Heliogabalus to suppress the worship of the ancient deities, and to introduce a ridiculous god of his own † ; the strange Egyptian deities which had crept into Italy, and were there adored by some and detested by others ; the liberty which many learned persons had taken with the popular religion ‡ ;—these things had a tendency to wean the pagans by slow degrees from their attachment to idolatry, and to facilitate the worship of one God and Father of all, who, by his Son, or his Word, reconciled to himself, and instructed mankind, and by his

\* *Religionum usquequaque contemtor, præter unius Deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita sprexit, ut urinâ contaminaret. Suet. Ner. 56.*

† *Heliogabalum in Palatino monte juxta ædes imperatorias consecravit, eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum, et Vestæ ignem, et Palladium, et ancilia, et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum, et id agens, ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur, &c. Lampridius 3.*

‡ It is related somewhere of Diogenes the cynic, that, to shew his contempt of sacrifices, he took a louse, and cracked it upon the altar of Diana.



his Spirit assisted virtuous minds in their progress to wisdom and happiness, as a religion more simple, and noble, and philosophical, and reasonable than paganism.

The Senate, says Dio, ordered the temples of Isis and Serapis to be pulled down, and afterwards would not suffer any to be erected *intra pomerium*. Τὸς ναὸς, ὧς ἰδία τινὲς ἐπεποίητο, καθελεῖν τῇ Βουλῇ ἔδοξεν ὃ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε γε δε ἐξενίκησιν, ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σέβεισθαι, ἔξω τῆ πόλεως σφᾶς ἰδρύσαντο. xl. p. 142. A little after the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, the *Haruspices* ordered the temples of these deities to be demolished. Dio xlii. p. 196.

How much the goddess Isis and her sacred rites were despised may be seen in Propertius ii. 24. Lucan viii. 831. ix. 158. Juvenal vi. 489. 526. ix. 22. not to mention several others. The apotheosis of the Roman emperors is made the subject of the utmost contempt and ridicule by Seneca, in his Ἀποκολοκύντωσις.

The Romans knew not much of Christianity, and in a great measure overlooked it, till its professors were so considerably increased, that they could not easily be destroyed.

Christianity at first was more likely to prosper under bad than under good emperors, if these were tenacious of their religious rites and ceremonies. The bad emperors had usually other crimes and other mischief in view, and no leisure to plague such a little sect, little when compared to paganism. And accordingly, from the death of Christ to Vespasian, for about the space of thirty-seven years, the Romans did not much mind the progress of the gospel. They were ruled by weak, or frantic and vicious emperors; the magistrates and senators, and every worthy man of  
any



any note stood in continual fear for their own lives. Under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the empire was a scene of confusion, desolation, and misery.

Nero, indeed, destroyed several Christians at Rome, but it was for a supposed crime of which all the world knew them to be innocent; so that this cruel treatment raised compassion, and rather did service than harm to the Christian cause, and the persecution was soon over.

If Claudius and the Senate in his time had known the nature of the gospel in this point, that it was directly opposite to the national religion, and that, if it prospered, Paganism must decline and come to nothing, and that every Christian thought himself bound to spread his opinions by all arts and means which were not immoral, they would have endeavoured to suppress it effectually; but it lay screened then under Judaism, and the Jews had leave to worship God in their own way.

The Christians who suffered under Nero are called *malefici* by Suetonius, c. 16. that is, sorcerers, magicians. Probably the Pagans had heard of their miracles, and ascribed them to magic arts, which yet was a kind of indirect acknowledgement of them. Juvenal iii. 41.

*Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio—motus*

*Astrorum ignoro: funus promittere patris, &c.*

where the old scholiast says: *motus astrorum: maleficus non sum.* But here I doubt it should be, *mathematicus non sum*, which is a more literal interpretation.

*Nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit.—*

*Consulit ictericæ lento de funere matris.*

*Ante tamen de te, &c. vi. 562.*

With

With the reader's leave, I will step out of my way to correct a passage in this poet, xiii. 64.

*Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri  
Hoc monstrum puero, vel mirandis sub aratro  
Piscibus inventis, et factæ comparo mulce,  
Solicitus, tanquam lapides effuderit imber,  
Examénque apium longa consederit uva  
Culmine delubri, tanquam in mare fluxerit amnis  
Gurgitibus miris, et lactis vortice torrens.*

Henninius has given in the text *mirandis*. Lubin says we must read *mirantis*, not *miranti*. Gataker conjectures *liranti*. These honest men were all disposed to feed upon acorns, whilst other copies had *miranti*, which was very well explained by Britannicus, *sub aratro miranti, ut rei inanimæ dederit sensum*. *Miranti aratro* is just such an expression as *irato sistro*, xiii. 93. *esuriens ramus olivæ*, xiii. 99. &c. &c.

I need not observe how flat, and unmeaning, and unpoetical is the expression, *Gurgitibus miris*, and how ill it comes in after *miranti*. The poet intended to speak of a prodigy, of a river running bloody, which, together with showers of blood, has been often mentioned amongst prodigies. See *Cicero de Divin.* i. 43. The word which he used was somewhat uncommon, and therefore lost, and ill supplied. He wrote, I believe,

*Gurgitibus miniis, et lactis vortice torrens.*

*miniis*, that is, *sanguineis, rubris instar minii*. The adjective *minius*, or *mineus*, from *minium*, red lead, vermillion, is twice used by Apuleius, *Fulgentium rosarum minius color*, and *Cervicula psittaci circulo mineo*. Faber's Thesaurus.—If there were no example extant of the adjective *minius*, that would not be a sufficient reason to reject the emendation, since the Greek and Latin

Latin poets frequently turn substantives into adjectives. So Juvenal himself, xi. 94. according to the best copies ;

*Qualis in Oceano fluctu testudo nataret.*

*Litore ab Oceano Gallis venientibus*—113.

Catullus, lxiii. according to Scaliger's emendation,

*Nimirum Oceano se ostendit Noctifer imbre.*

And hence Milton, 1.

———*hugest that swim th' ocean stream.*

*Minium* in Greek is *μίλτος*, and the Sibylline oracles speak thus of a bloody shower :

Καὶ ψεκᾶδες πίπῳσιν ἀπ' ἑρανῶ, οἳά τε μίλτος.

The old scholiast says, *Gurgitibus miris*] *Aut lacteis, aut sanguineis.* But you have nothing in Juvenal that answers to *sanguineis*, unless you change *miris* into *miniis*, which is also a very slight alteration. The poet might have so contrived it as to have used *sanguis* or *cruror*, or their adjectives, but *Gurgitibus miniis* pleased him better, as it had a more ludicrous cast, and he chose rather to stain his river with red oker than with blood. It threw a contempt upon portents and prodigies, things which he was not much disposed to believe. Lucian, or whosoever he be who wrote the treatise *De Dea Syria*, says, that the river Adonis was stained with blood every year, ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκάστῃ ἔτειος αἱμάσσειναι, καὶ τὴν χροὴν ὀλέσας, ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ φοινείσσει τὸ πολλὸν τῷ πελάγεος.—*Illud flumen singulis annis cruentatur, suoque amisso colore, in mare effunditur, et magnam maris partem inficit.* 8. He adds, that an inhabitant of Byblus explained the phænomenon thus : ὁ Ἀδωνίς ὁ ποταμὸς, ὡς ξεῖνέ, διὰ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ἔρχεται. ὁ δὲ Λίβανος κάρβια ξανθογέως ἐστὶ ἄνεμοι ὧν τρηχέες ἐκείνησι τῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰσάμενοι τὴν γῆν τῷ πόλαμῳ ἐπιφέρουσι, εἴσαν ἐς τὰ μάλισα ΜΙΑΤΩΔΕΑ· ἡ δὲ γῆ μιν αἰμώδεα γίθησι. *Adonis flumen, o*



*hospes, venit per Libanum. At Libanus multum rubicundæ terræ habet. Venti ergo vehementes, qui statos illis diebus flatus habent, terram flumini inferunt minio valde similem. Hæc illud terra reddit sanguineum.*

This account has been since confirmed by Maundrel in his *Voyages*.

*Sanguinem pluisset, says Cicero, senatui nuntiatum est, Atratum etiam fluxum fluxisse sanguine.—Sed et decoloratio quædam ex aliqua contagione terrena potest sanguini similis esse, De Div. ii. 27.*

Some may think that we ought to read *Gurgitibus miniis*, aut *lactis vortice torrens*, instead of *et*. But, unless the best manuscripts deceive us, *et* is often used in a disjunctive sense, and implies much the same as *aut*; and likewise *que*, where *ve* might seem more proper. Of this I gave some examples in the *Miscell. Observ.* vol. II. p. 255.

Amongst the miracles recorded in the acts of the apostles is the casting out of evil spirits. In the New Testament; where any circumstances are added concerning the dæmoniacs, they are generally such as shew that there was something præternatural in the distemper; for these disordered persons agreed in one story, and paid homage to Christ and to his apostles, which is not to be expected from madmen, of whom some would have worshipped, and others would have reviled Christ, according to the various humour and behaviour observable in such persons.

One reason for which the divine providence should suffer evil spirits to exert their malignant powers so much at that time, might be to give a check to Sadduceism amongst the Jews, and to Epicurean atheism amongst the Gentiles, and to remove in some measure  
these



these two great impediments to the reception of the gospel.

The first miracle after the ascension of Christ, namely, the gift of tongues, was of singular and extraordinary service to Christianity. It increased the number of believers at Jerusalem, and engaged the admiration and favour of the people so much, that the enemies of Christ could not accomplish their designs against the disciples, and it served to convey the gospel to distant regions.

It has been said that the gift of tongues continued for a considerable time to be absolutely necessary for the spreading of Christianity : but it is to be observed that the Scriptures never say so. We may therefore judge for ourselves how far it was needful.

Now at the time of Pentecost there was a great resort of Jews and proselytes from various and remote countries. The gift of tongues conferred upon the disciples served to convince and convert many of these persons, and these persons served to carry Christianity with them to their several homes. Afterwards the Æthiopian eunuch, Cornelius the Roman centurion, Sergius Paulus the proconsul, Dionysius the Areopagite, and many others, were converted. By these persons, and by the travels of some of the apostles and of their disciples, Christianity was spread in the Roman empire and in the East ; and then the Greek language, together with human industry in learning other tongues, might be sufficient to convey the gospel as far, and as soon as providence intended.

Apollonius Tyaneus, as Philostratus relates, pretended to understand all languages without having learned them \*. If Philostratus may be credited in this,

\* Vit. Apoll. p. 25. ed. Par. or Euseb. contr. Hier. p. 517.

it is probable that Apollonius, knowing that the Christians claimed this gift, took the same honour to himself. He flourished in the times of Nero and of Domitian, and it is to be supposed that he could speak a little of several tongues, for he was a man of parts and a strolling vagabond.

Philostratus also assures us, that, when the mother of Apollonius was in labour, the swans came to attend and assist her; for which he produces no voucher, says Eusebius in Hierocl. p. 517. Now Philostratus, or whosoever was the author of this pretty story, stole the thought from Callimachus :

Κύννοι δὲ θεῶ μέλποντες αἰδοῖ

Μήνιον Πακτωλὸν ἐκυκλώσαντο λιπόντες

Ἑβδομάκις περὶ Δῆλον ἐπήεισαν δὲ λοχείῃ

Μυσάων ὄρνιθες, αἰδοῦντάς τοι πέλινων.

Hymn. in Delum, 249. where these poetical birds perform the same office to Latona.

Clemens Alexandrinus cites Plato as saying that the gods or dæmons had the use of language, and that it appeared from the discourses of dæmoniacs, since in those possessions it was not the man himself, but the dæmon in him, who spake by the man's voice. Ὁ Πλάτων δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διάλεκτον ἀπονέμει τινά· μάλιστα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐειράτων τεκμαιρόμενος καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν. ἄλλως δὲ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίωντων, οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐφθέγγονται φωνὴν ἔδδ' ἀλεκτρον, ἀλλάττην τῶν ὑπεισιόντων δαιμόνων. Strom. i. p. 405. Oxon. edit. I may have overlooked it, but I never could find this place in Plato. There is something a little like it in Porphyry, where Apollo says of himself,

Αὐλὴ δ' ἐκ βροτέοιο φίλην ἐτεκνώσατο φωνήν.\*

*Jucundam expirat mortali e gutture vocem.*

Οἱ

\* φίλην φωνήν may be translated *suam vocem*. ἐτεκνώσατο, fors. ἐτεκνώσατο, vel. ἐτεκνήσατο vel, τεκνήσατο.

On which the philosopher observes, Πνεῦμα γὰρ τὸ καλὸν ἢ ἀπ' ὁρῶσα ἐκ τῆς ἐπερανίης δυνάμεως, εἰς ὀργανικὸν σῶμα καὶ ἔμφυχον εἰσελθῶσα, βάσει χρωμένη τῇ ψυχῇ, διὰ τῷ σώματος, ὡς ὀργανοὶ φωνὴν ἀποδιδωσιν. *Spiritus enim e loco superiore delapsus, illaque adeo particula, quæ celesti virtute in corpus suis instructum facultatibus animatumque defluxit, animum veluti basim aliquam sortita, vocem per corpus, veluti per quoddam instrumentum, edit.* Apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* v. 8. These δαιμονῶνες, of whom the philosophers speak, were persons inspired, or supposed to be inspired by Apollo, Cybele, or other dæmons. In later times, the speaking of new languages has been reckoned one of the proofs of being possessed with a dæmon. See *Bayle's Dict. Grandier*, and *Michael Psellus de Operat. Daemonum*, and some instances collected by Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* p. 704-5. That from Fernelius is mentioned by Le Clerc, in his extracts from Cudworth, *Bibl. Chois.* v. p. 109. He has made a small mistake when he says, *Un melancholique que les medecins avoient traite en vain, et qui ne savoit ni Grec, ni Latin, se mit a parler ces deux langues.* Fernelius only says that the young gentleman did not understand Greek.

To learn a foreign language so far as to understand it when we read or hear it, is a skill which is not to be acquired without much time and pains. To speak it readily and pronounce it rightly, is still more difficult: it is what many persons can never accomplish, though they have all the proper helps, as we may see every day; nor can any study and application acquire this habit, unless there be an opportunity of conversing frequently with those whose tongue it is.

If the apostles on the day of Pentecost had expressed themselves improperly, or with a bad accent as most people do, when they speak a living language



which is not natural to them, the hearers, who at that time were not converted to Christianity, would have suspected some fraud, would have taken notice of such faults \*, and censured them ; which since they did not, it is to be supposed that they had nothing of that kind to object,

Within forty years after the resurrection of Christ came on the destruction of Jerusalem, a most important event, upon which the credit and the fate of Christianity depended. Christ had foretold it so expressly, that, if he had failed, his religion could not have supported itself. But his predictions were exactly accomplished, and proved him to be a true prophet.

Christ fixed the time also, saying that the days were at hand, and would come before that generation should pass away, and whilst the daughters of Jerusalem, or their children, should be living.

The completion of Christ's predictions has been fully shewed by many writers, particularly by Whitby. To him I refer the reader, on Matth. xxiv. and shall here insert in the notes some † remarks on this part of the subject,

\* As the Jews did to Peter, when they said to him, *Thou art a Galilean, and thy speech bewrayeth thee.*

† Our Saviour, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, applies to the Jews in a prophetic sense this proverbial saying, *Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together*, Mat. xxiv. 28.

The Jewish writers had this maxim among them, that wicked men while they live are to be reckoned amongst the dead : see Drusius on Mat. iv. 4. and viii. 22. see also Luke xv. 32. Eph. ii. 1. 1 Tim. v. 6. But wicked men are spoken of in scripture under this figure with still greater propriety, if for their crimes they were devoted to death, and condemned to it by a divine or human sentence, Gen. xx. 3. By the word *carcase*, Christ means the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven.



subject, which Dr Pearce the bishop of Bangor was so kind as to communicate; observing only that Christ foretold,

1. The total destruction of the city.

2. Of

In Eusebius, E. H. iii. 23. *τίθνηκε* is explained by *Θεῶν τίθνηκε ἀπέβη γὰρ πονηρὸς ἐξ ὧλης καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον λησής.*

*Nunī dē dhmagwngē ēn toīs ānw nekroīs.* Aristoph. Ran. Act. i. sc. 7. in choro.

See L. Capell. and Grotius on Matth. viii. 22. who says, *Nekroī vocantur homines a vera disciplina, quæ animi vita est, alieni.* διὸ ἐ ἐν τῇ (ait Clemens Alex. Strom. v.) βαρβάρων φιλοσοφίᾳ νεκροὺς καλεῖσι τὰς ἐκπεσόντας τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ καθυποτάξαντας τὸν νῦν τοῖς παθεσι ψυχικοῖς. *Hausit quoque hæc, ut alia, ab orientis philosophia Pythagoras, τὰς τῶν Ἰσθαίων δόξας μιμέμενος, ut de eo scribit Hermippus: siquidem καὶ πρὸς τῆς Ἑβραίων ἀφίκετο, ut de eo ex Diogene scribit Malchus; unde mos ortus ut his qui cœtu Pythagoreorum essent ejecti, cenotaphia struerentur, quod Hipparcho cuidam factum legimus, &c.*

Under the metaphor of *eagles*, which fly swiftly, and seize upon their prey violently, conquerors with their armies, are frequently spoken of in scripture; Jeremiah, Lament. iv. 19. says, *Our persecutors are swifter than eagles*; and Hosea, viii. 1. says of the king of Assyria, *He shall come as an eagle against the house of the Lord, because they have transgressed his covenant.* Ezekiel, xvii. 3. pronounces a parable under the same figure; *Thus saith the Lord, A great eagle, with great wings full of feathers, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar*; which the prophet thus explains, ver. 12. *Behold the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the king thereof.*

Nor must it be forgotten, that when Moses, Deut. xxviii. 49, &c. threatens the Jews with the destruction of their nation, if they would not hearken unto the words of the Lord, the description of the calamities with which he threatens them, answers so exactly in the most material parts to the final destruction of that people by the Romans, that this seems to have been chiefly and principally in the intention of the prophet; and there the destroying army is spoken of under this very emblem of an eagle; *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth; a nation whose language thou shalt not understand.*

## 2. Of the temple.

3. The coming of false christs and false prophets, magicians, and sorcerers, leading the people to the desarts.

## 4. Famines.

The sense of the proverb then is this : wheresoever the wicked Jews are, there will the Roman eagles, the destroying armies, follow them ; and whithersoever they fly, ruin and desolation will overtake them.

Christ had been foretelling to his disciples the destruction of the Jewish nation, and the vengeance which he was to take upon them for their obstinate refusal of him and his doctrine. This he expressed by *the coming of the Son of Man* ; and he told them many particulars of what was to happen before, and at that great day of visitation. Among others he acquainted them that there would be some impostors, who should set up themselves for the Christ, or Messiah of the Jews : *Wherefore*, says he, *if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth : behold he is in the secret chambers, believe it not : i. e. none but false christs will be found there.* The true coming of Christ will be of another nature ; *not with observation*, Luke xvii. 20. not with a display of his person, but of his power in the vengeance which he is to take upon the Jews ; not restrained to the desert or the chambers, not confined to holes and corners, nor to any one part of Judea, but extended through every province of it ; *for as the lightning*, says he, *cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be*, i. e. as extensive and universal over the land, as the lightning shines ; the comparison being brought in to shew, not so much its swiftness, as its wide extent and compass ; *for wheresoever the carcase*, &c. In St Luke when our Lord had been describing this calamity which was to befall the Jews, his disciples asked him, *Where, Lord ?* where shall this happen ? to which he replied, *Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.* If then his words contain any direct answer to the question, they must be understood as pointing out the place and extent of the calamity.

This prophecy was pronounced by our Saviour near forty years, and recorded by St Matthew near thirty years, before the event was to take place. And, for the literal accomplishment of it, we have the authority of Josephus. He was a general on the side of the Jews in the beginning of that war, and a prisoner at large in the Roman ar-

4. Famines.
5. Pestilences.
6. Earthquakes.
7. Fearful sights, and great signs from heaven.

8. The

my during the rest of it : he was a party concerned in much of the calamity of his countrymen, and an eye-witness to almost all of it. And, besides this, it is to be considered, that if he ever had heard of this prophecy, which it is probable he had not, yet as he was a Jew by religion, and a Jewish priest too, he is therefore a witness not to be suspected of partiality in this case, and was every way qualified to give us an exact history of those times ; which he has accordingly done, by describing very punctually all the particulars of that terrible destruction.

From his account it may be observed, that the Roman army entered into Judea on the east side of it, and carried on their conquests westward, as if not only the extensiveness of the ruin, but the very route, which the army would take, was intended in the comparison of the lightning coming out of the east, and shining even unto the west.

In the course of his history, he gives us a very particular account of the prodigious numbers of such as were slain in Judea properly so called, in Samaria, the two Galilees, and the region beyond Jordan : and he confirms the prophecy of Christ by making a remarkable observation to this purpose, that *there was not any the least part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city*; B. J. v. 3. There, at Jerusalem, the last and finishing stroke was given to the ruin of the church and state ; for after a long and sharp siege, in which famine killed as many as the sword, in which the judgments of heaven appeared as visibly as the fury of man, in which intestine factions helped on the desolation which the foreign armies completed, Jerusalem was at last taken, not then a city, but a confused mass of ruins, affording a sadder scene of calamity than the world had ever seen, and exactly fulfilling the words of Christ, Mat. xxiv. 21. *Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world unto this time, no, nor ever shall be.* To which Josephus bears express testimony, and says that *the calamities of all nations from the beginning of the world were exceeded by those which befel his countrymen on this occasion*, B. J. i. 1.

Christ foretold, that Jerusalem should be *encompassed with armies*, Luke xxi. 20. and accordingly it was besieged and taken by the Romans ; a circumstance which had no necessary connection with the  
revolt



8. The persecution of the Apostles.
9. The apostasy of some Christians.
10. A preservation of the faithful,
11. The spreading of the gospel through the Roman world.

## 12. The

revolt and conquest of Judea : For at the time when Christ spake this, the Roman governor resided in that city, and had troops there sufficient to keep it in obedience ; whence it was more probable, that Jerusalem would have continued in a quiet subjection to the Romans, whatever troubles might be raised in other parts of the Jewish dominions.

He foretold, that the Roman ensigns, called *the abomination of desolation*, ver. 15. should be seen *standing in the holy place*, or temple : an event not to be foreseen by human skill, because very unlikely to happen. The great care which the Jews took at other times not to defile that holy place, and the small strength which it had to defend them long from the Roman arms, as they had twice experienced in the memory of man, were both circumstances, which, in all human appearance, would have kept them from the rash experiment. And yet, against all probability, they fled to the temple, and there made a last and desperate resistance. Having thus defiled it with their own arms, they made it necessary for the Romans to follow them into the sanctuary ; so that they took it by storm, and of consequence caused their military ensigns to be *seen standing* there.

Christ foretold, Matt. xxiv. 2. that when the temple should be taken, *there should not be left there one stone upon another that should not be thrown down*. And yet the building was so magnificent, that it was esteemed for cost, for art and beauty, one of the wonders of the world ; whence it was natural to expect, that the Romans, according to their usual custom amidst their conquests, would endeavour to preserve it safe and entire. And Josephus, B. J. vi. 2, 4. tells us, that Titus laboured with all his power to save it, but that his soldiers, as if moved *δαμονίῳ ὁρμήν*, by a divine impulse, would not hearken to his positive and repeated orders, but set fire to every part of it, till it was entirely consumed ; and then the ruins were removed, and the soil on which it stood was ploughed up, and not one stone left upon another. See Drusius and Calmet on Matt. xxiv. 2. and Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebr.* on the same text, where he quotes for proof of this the *Taanith* of Maimonides,



12. The Roman standards defiling the holy place.

13. The city encompassed with armies, walls, and trenches.

14. The retiring of the Christians to the mountains.

15. The

Maimonides, c. 4. Josephus indeed, in B. J. vii. 1. speaking of the temple, says only that it was demolished, without expressly telling us that the foundations of it were digged up. And yet it seems probable, that some parts at least of those foundations were digged up, from what he says there in the following chapter concerning one Simon. He lived in Jerusalem, in the upper part of it, near to the temple; and, when the city was taken, he endeavoured to escape by letting himself down with some of his companions into a cavern; where, when they had digged but a little way for themselves, he crept out from underground in that very place where the temple had before stood. Therefore either he crept out in that hollow where the foundation had stood; or, if it was in any other part of the temple, the foundations must have been removed there at least where he worked his way through the ground from the outside to the inside of the temple.

To these circumstances we may add the time: *This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled*, ver. 34. and again, Mat. xvi. 28. *There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom*; pointing out to his hearers, that this train of calamities was not to come upon the Jews immediately, nor yet so late but that some then living should see the accomplishment of his prophecies. The fixing of this circumstance had no connection with any thing which might serve for the foundation of human conjecture.

He also foretold, that *the gospel of his kingdom should be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations*, ver. 14. before this end of the Jewish state should come; than which no circumstance was less likely in all human appearance to happen, if we consider the time when this prophecy was delivered; for we find that within two days afterwards, as himself foretold, Mat. xxvi. 2, and 31. *all his disciples forsook him and fled* upon his being apprehended. It could not be expected that they who had deserted his person when alive, would adhere to his cause after his death, and with so much steadiness and courage, as to preach a crucified Jesus in spite of all opposition thro'

all

15. The greatest tribulation that ever was known.

16. The time when these things should happen.

17. The comparative happiness of the barren women, when a mother killed and eat her own child.

18. Wars and rumours of wars, nation rising against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.

19. The sea and the waves roaring.

20. The dispersion of the captive Jews through all nations.

21. The continuance of the desolation.

22. A shortening of the days of vengeance, for the sake of the Elect.

All which things came to pass.

To bring about this great event, and to certify posterity of its truth, God raised up an illustrious and worthy prince to accomplish it, and an illustrious historian to record it, to record the things of which he was an eye witness, and in which he had borne a considerable share.

Vespasian was lifted up from obscurity to the empire, he was strangely spared, and promoted, and employed by Nero who hated him. If he had not put an end to the civil wars, and to the great calamities of the empire, Jerusalem would not have been destroyed at the time foretold by Christ. *Lucem caliganti reddidit mundo*, says Q. Curtius, speaking most probably of Vespasian, X. 9.

Josephus assured Vespasian that he and his son Titus should be emperors after Nero, and some others, who should reign only a short time, *B. J. iii. 8. Unus*

*ex*

all the nations of the then known earth. And yet this they did with great success, so that St Paul could say to the Colossians with truth, that the gospel was come unto them, as it was in all the world, i. 6.

*ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore.* Sueton. *Vesp.* 5. When Josephus made this declaration there was no appearance of such an event. He says that he had received the knowledge of these things in a dream, which was accounted by the Jews to be a lower degree of prophecy, and to have been sometimes granted to them, after the prophetic *afflatus* had ceased at the death of Malachi. Josephus says that Hyrcanus had been favoured with such kind of revelations. *Ant.* xiii. 12. *Bell. Jud.* 1. 2. He records a prophetic dream of his own, in his *Life*, sect. 42. He mentions also strange deliverances vouchsafed to himself from seemingly unavoidable destruction, *B. J.* iii. 8. He had taken shelter in a cave with forty desperate persons, who were determined to perish rather than to yield, and who proposed to pay him the compliment of killing him first, as the most honourable man in the company. When he could not divert them from their frantic resolution of dying, he had no other refuge than to engage them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other, and at last only he and another remained, whom he persuaded to surrender to the Romans. I would not willingly be imposed upon, or impose upon the reader; but I leave it to be considered whether in all this there might not be something extraordinary, as both Vespasian and Josephus were designed and reserved for extraordinary purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of Daniel and of our Lord. The same providence which raised up and conducted Cyrus, and preserved the rash\*

Macedonian

\* I call him rash, because he exposed his own person too much; for his enterprise, though very bold, was perhaps neither rash nor rashly conducted.



Macedonian conqueror from perishing; till he had overthrown the Persian empire, that the prophecies might be accomplished, might take the *Roman emperor* and the *Jewish writer* under a singular protection for reasons of no less importance. The historian was on all accounts a proper person to deliver these things to posterity, and one to whom the Pagans, the Jews, and the Christians could have no reasonable objection. He was of a noble family, he had enjoyed the advantage of a good education, he had acted in the war as a general, he had much learning, singular abilities, a fair character, and a great love for his own country. The service which he has done to Christianity was on his side plainly undesigned, he never gives even the remotest hint that the Jews suffered for rejecting the Messias. His book had the approbation of Vespasian and Titus, Herod and Agrippa \*, and of several persons of distinction, and he wanted not adversaries who would have exposed him if he had advanced untruths; so that though in some other points he might have been capable of deceiving, and of being deceived, yet as to the transactions of his own times, he must pass in general for a candid, impartial, accurate writer, and has passed for such in the opinion of the most competent judges.

But though we are indebted to him for several particulars, which surprisingly agree with the predictions of Christ, yet the destruction of the Jewish state rests not upon his single authority, but upon ancient history and general consent, and is a fact which never was questioned.

What Josephus says concerning the outrageous wickedness and strange infatuation of many of the Jews, must

\* Contr. Apion, i. 9.



must be true ; the facts related by him sufficiently shew it : but the reason for which he dwells so much on a subject so disagreeable to one who loved his nation, seems to have been this ; he knew not how to account otherwise for God's giving up his own people to such calamities, and seeming to fight against them himself, and he was afraid of consequences which Pagans and Christians would draw from it against the Jewish religion. Cicero, because it served his purpose, had inferred from the calamities which in his days befel the Jews, that they were a nation not acceptable to the Deity. *Stantibus Hierosolymis, paucisque Judeis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis, abhorrebat : nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis : quam cara diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod servata.* *Pro Flacco*, 28. Some would read *serva*. Dr Thirlby conjectured *servit* : and I find it so cited by Hammond, in his notes on Revel. xiii. 5.

In his *Antiquities* he takes too great liberties with sacred history, and accommodates it too much to the taste of the Gentiles, which yet probably he did to recommend his oppressed and unhappy nation to the favour of the Greeks and Romans. There are few of his suppressions, or alterations, or embellishments, for which a prudential reason might not be assigned. In his *History* he shews an instance of his art, in complimenting Titus without saying an untruth ; he relates that Titus engaged with the Jews, who had made a sally and fought desperately, and that Titus himself slew twelve of their bravest men, who headed the rest. He says not how he slew them ; but Suetonius tells us, that Titus, at the siege of Jerusalem, shot twelve  
of

of the foremost of the enemies with so many arrows. The circumstances give great reason to suppose that both relate the same story.

Καὶ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν προμάχων ἀναιρεῖ. *et ipse quidem sternit duodecim adversi agminis propugnatores.* B. J. v. vi. 6.

*Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione, duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus.* Sueton. *Tit.* 5.

The history of the Jewish war by Josephus seems to be a commentary upon the prophecies of Christ. Josephus, amongst other particulars, gives a distinct account of the *fearful sights, and great signs from heaven*, which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, and Tacitus has confirmed the narration of Josephus. If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated; and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians.

Let us proceed to shew, that the predictions of Christ were extant before the destruction of Jerusalem, before A. D. 70. for this is the important point.

The books and epistles of the New Testament were written by disciples of Christ, or their companions. We cannot suppose that any persons, of whatever abilities, could have forged them after the decease of the apostles, for, **These writings** \* contain various and numerous incidents of time, place, persons, names, and things; occasional discourses, differences of style, epistles in answer

\* Discourse vi. on the Christian Religion

answer to epistles, and passages cited from those which they answer, directions and observations suited to the state of several churches, seeming contradictions, and real difficulties which might have easily been avoided, things mentioned which worldly considerations would have suppressed, and things omitted which invention and imagination might have supplied ; a character of Christ, arising from his words and actions, of a most singular kind, left to its intrinsic merit, and aided by no art ; and in the writings of St Paul, sentiments warm, pathetic, and coming from the heart ; particularities in each gospel suitable to the character, knowledge, situation, and circumstances of each evangelist, &c. &c.

The forgers of these things, if they were such, must have equalled Father Harduin's \* atheistical monks of the thirteenth century, who, according to his fantastical account, in an age of ignorance and barbarity, surpassed in abilities all the ancients and moderns, forged the Latin and Greek authors whom we call classical, and were not only great poets, orators, grammarians, linguists, and knaves, but great mathematicians, chronologers, astronomers, geographers, and critics, and capable of inserting, in their proper places, names and accounts of men, rivers, cities, and regions, eclipses of the sun and moon, Athenian archons, Attic months, Roman consuls, and olympiads, all which happy inventions have been since confirmed by astronomical calculations and tables, voyages, inscriptions, fasti capitolini, fragments, manuscripts,

\* Harduin's craziness consisted in rejecting what all the world received ; the opposite folly to which is the receiving what all the world rejects.



nuscripts, and a diligent comparing of authors with each other.

There is not one page in the New Testament, which affords not internal characters of being composed by men who lived at the time when the things happened which are there related. This is as evident, as it is that the noble English historian, who wrote an account of the troubles in the time of Charles the First, was himself concerned in those transactions. The discourses of Christ, as I have observed elsewhere, are always occasional, and full of allusions to particular incidents. The historical parts of the New Testament, and the travels of Christ and of his apostles correspond with the accounts and descriptions which may be collected from other authors. In the judgment which Pilate passed upon Christ, the rules of the Roman law were observed\*. What is accidentally mentioned concerning the behaviour of Felix and Gallio, and some others, agrees with the character which Roman writers have given of them. There are endless particularities of this kind which might be produced. A man of very ordinary abilities, who relates various things of which he has been an ear and an eye-witness, is under no difficulty or pain : but a forger, if he had the abilities of an angel, whose imagination must supply

\* M. Huber remarque fort bien, qu'il paroît, par toutes les circonstances du jugement de Pilate, qu'il toutes les regles du Droit Romain y furent exactement observées ; et que cela peut nous convaincre de la verité de cette histoire. Des gens du petit peuple parmi les Juifs, tels qu'étoient les Evangelistes, ne pouvoient pas être si bien instruits de cela ; et s'ils ne l'avoient apprise de témoins oculaires, ils n'auroient jamais pu la raconter, comme ils ont fait, sans dire quelque chose qui se trouveroit contraire à l'usage des gouverneurs, dans les provinces Romaines. *Le Clerc*, Bibl. anc. et mod. T. xiii. p. 100. See also *Huber*, Dissert.



ply him with materials; can never write in such a manner, and if he has tolerable sense, will avoid entering into such a minute detail, in which he must perpetually expose his ignorance and his dishonesty.

Christ began to preach when he was about thirty years of age; and the Jews from his countenance judged him to be more advanced in life \*. He chose apostles, some of whom were married, one was employed in a public office, and most were probably as old as himself, if not older. If they had not been cut off by martyrdom, yet few of them, in the course of nature, would have survived the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. which was about 74 years after the birth of Christ. Ecclesiastical history assures us that St Peter and St Paul died before that time; and Christ had told Peter that he should be put to death in his old age.

History informs us, that St John lived long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and Christ had given an intimation that he should see that event, for he said once to his disciples, *There be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom*; and afterwards, when Peter was desirous to know what should befall John, Christ replied, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*

St John had seen the three gospels, for he wrote his own as a supplement to them, which appears plainly in the harmony of the Evangelists. He omits these predictions of Christ, though he was present at that discourse, of which omission the most probable reason is, that the other three had mentioned them.

D 2

Matthew,

\* John viii. 57.

Matthew, Mark, and Luke, relate, that when the Jews came to seize Christ, a disciple drew his sword, and wounded one of them. John alone names him, and says that it was Simon Peter. The cause of their silence is obvious; Peter was living when they wrote, and they suppressed his name for several reasons, but when John wrote, Peter was dead.

The three first evangelists make no mention of the resurrection of Lazarus, perhaps lest the Jews, who had consulted to put him to death, should assassinate him. When St. John wrote, it is probable that he was dead, and therefore he gave a particular account of that resurrection.

There is reason to think, that St. John also might compose a part at least of his gospel a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, since he speaks of the porches of Bethesda as standing \*, v. 2. though this amounts not to a full and conclusive proof, and may be a small inaccuracy of style, or, it may be, those porches remained undemolished.

St. Luke ends his history of the Apostles with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome for two years, A. D. 65. He mentions nothing farther, and therefore probably wrote the Acts before the death of that apostle; and he refers us to his own gospel, as to a book which he had published before.

Ecclesiastical history † informs us, that Mark's gospel had the approbation of Peter, and that Mark was instructed by him, which opinion seems somewhat favoured by the narration of Peter's fall and repentance. Matthew and Luke say, that he *wept bitterly*; Mark says only

\* "Εστὶ δὲ — καλυμμένον. † Ην δὲ, which is in some few copies, is probably the emendation of a critic.

† Euseb. ii. 15.

only, *he wept*, but represents his crime in stronger terms than Luke. Matthew relates at large the commendation and the commission which Christ gave to Peter: *Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*, xvi. 17. Mark omits it, viii. 29.

St Peter, who died before A. D. 70. mentioned the approaching ruin of Jerusalem, in the Acts of the Apostles \*, and in his own epistles †, as the best commentators agree; and so does St James ‡, and St Paul ||, and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews ¶.

### *Papias*

\* “And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.” Acts ii. 19.

† “But the end of all things is at hand.—The time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God. And if it first begin with us, what will be the end of them that obey not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?” 1 Pet. iv. 7.

‡ “Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you.—Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of our Lord.—For the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.—The judge standeth before the door,” James v. 1.

|| “The Lord is at hand,” Phil. iv. 5. “To fill up their sins always; for wrath is come upon them to the uttermost,” 1 Thess. xi. 16. “The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night,” &c. 1 Thess. v. 2. The same event is also perhaps alluded to, 2 Thess. ii. 6. &c. and 2 Thess. ii. 2. &c.

¶ “Ye have need of patience that—ye might receive the promise.

*Papias* conversed with the disciples of the apostles about the beginning of the second century. He speaks of the gospels of *Matthew* and *Mark* as extant, and written by them \*.

*Justin Martyr*, A. D. 150. mentions the gospels as universally received and read in the congregations in his time. He must have conversed with Christians who were old men, and from them have learned that the gospels were extant when they were young. οἱ Ἀπόστολοι (says he) ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται Εὐαγγέλια, ἔτως παρέδωκαν—And again, Τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀναγινώσκεται. *Apol.* 1. And his citations from the four gospels, from the epistles of *St Paul*, and from the *Revelation*, shew to a demonstration that he had them as we now have them, in the main.

In the interval between A. D. 70. and *Justin*, are the authors called apostolical, as *Clemens*, *Hermas*, *Barnabas*, *Ignatius*. These authors make use of some of the gospels and epistles, and allude to them; which makes them highly valuable, and serviceable to the Christian cause. We cannot suppose that they had the inclination, we may positively affirm that they had not the capacity to forge them. Their own writings prove it.

*Barnabas*, in his *Epistle*, makes use of *Matthew*, *Luke*, *John*, and the *Epistle to the Romans*.

*Clemens*, in his *first Epistle*, makes mention of *St Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians*, and takes passages from *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *Acts*, *Romans*, 1 and 2 *Corinthians*, *Philippians*, 1 *Thessalonians*, *Ephesians*, 1 and 2  
of

For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come," &c. *Heb.* x. 36.

\* Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 39. *sub finem*.



of *Peter*, 1 *Timothy*, 1 and 3 of *John*, *Revelations*, and particularly from the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. He also speaks of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.

In his *second Epistle*, if it be his, there are passages from *Matthew*, *Luke*, 1 *Corinthians*, and *Hebrews*.

*Hermas* says, i. 2. *Juravit Dominus per Filium suum: Qui denegaverit filium & se—& ipsi denegaturi sunt illum*—from *Matth.* x. 33.

I. 6. *Cum ergo venerit tribulatio, propter dicitias suas & negotiationes, abnegant Dominum*—from *Matt.* xiii. 21.

I. 9. *Videte ergo vos qui gloriamini in dicitis, ne forte ingemiscant ii qui egent, & gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum*—from *James* v. 4.

Ib. *Qui amatis primos consessus*; from *Matt.* xxiii.

6. *Melius erat illis non nasci*. from *Matt.* xxvi. 24.

II. Mand. v. *Spiritus sanctus, qui in te est, angustabitur*; from *Ephes.* iv. 30.

*Si resistis Diabolo, fugiet a te*; from *James* iv. 7.

II. Mand. vi. Φοβήθη τὸν Κύριον τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολίσσαι from *James* iv. 12.

Such references should have been marked in the editions of the *apostolical fathers*.

In the *apostolical constitutions* also, and in the *recognitions* and the *homilies* of *Pseudo-Clemens* there are many passages taken from the New Testament; but as these books are not so ancient as they pretend to be, I pass them by for the present, and shall pay my respects to them in another place.

The numerous and large citations from the LXX, and the New Testament, in the *Constitutions*, are however so far useful, that they help to shew how those places stood in the copies of the fourth century, and perhaps somewhat earlier.

*Ignatius*, who in his old age, suffered under Trajan, about A. D. 107. and who was contemporary with the apostles, in his genuine epistles alludes to the gospels of *Matthew*, of *Luke*, and of *John*; *Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians*, those to the *Colossians*, *Galatians*, *Philippians*, and *Ephesians*, the *first Epistle of Peter*, &c.

Besides the places which are referred to in the margin of the *Patres Apostolici*, I have observed several, upon a cursory perusal, to which, I am sensible, more might be added.

*Ignatius ad Ephes.* μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεῷ. from *Ephes.* v. 1.

Ib. ἐν αἵματι Θεῷ. perhaps from *Acts* xx. 28.

Ib. τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνετεκόντος Θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν. from *Ephes.* v. 2.

Ib. ii. ἐναίμην ὑμῶν. from *Philem.* 20.

Ib. iv. μέλη ὄντας τῷ ἡσυχίας αὐτοῦ. from *Ephes.* v. 30.

Ib. v. εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχῇ τοσαύτην ἰσχυρὴν ἔχει. perhaps from *James* v. 16. or *Mat.* xviii. 19, 20.

Ib. ix.—λίθοι ναὺς Πατρὸς—εἰς οἰκοδομὴν—from *Ephes.* ii, 20.

Ib. xiii. τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη. from 1 *Tim.* i. 5.

Ib. xiv. ἀμεινόν ἐστι σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἢ λαλεῖν καὶ μὴ εἶναι καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐάν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ. from *Mat.* v. 19. vii. 21.

Ib. xv. ἡδὲν λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον—perhaps from *Heb.* iv. 12, 13. or *Revel.* ii. 23. or from other places.

Ib. xvii. τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ αἰῶνος τέτυκται. from *John* xiv. 30. and *Ephes.* ii. 2.

Ib. μὴ αἰχμαλωσίῃ ὑμᾶς. from *Rom.* vii. 23.

Ib. xix. μυστήρια—ὡς ἐν ἐφανερῶθῃ—from 1 *Tim.* iii. 16.

Ib. xx. ἓνα ἄρτον κλωήεις. from 1 *Cor.* x. 17.

Ib. xxi. ἑσχαῖος ὢν τῶν ἐκείτω. from 1 *Cor.* xv. 9. or *Mat.* xx. 26, 27.

Ib.

Ib. xii. Ignatius takes notice of *St Paul's epistle to the Ephesians*, and of his martyrdom; and as he was writing to the same church, he often alludes, as you see, to the apostle's letter.

*Ad Magnes.* i. ἀγάπης, ἧς ἔδεν προσέκριται. from 1 *Cor.* xiii. 13.

Ib. iii. —νεωτερικὴν τάξιν.—perhaps from 1 *Tim.* iv. 12.

Ib. v. εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. from *Acts* i. 25.

Ib. ἴδιον χαρὰ κληῖρα. perhaps from *Rev.* xiii. 17.

Ib. vii.—εἰς νῦν, μία ἐλπίς—from *Ephes.* iv. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Ib. viii. εἰ κατὰ νόμον ζῶμεν, ὁμολογῶμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. from *Gal.* v. 4.

Ib. x. ὑπέρθεσθε τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν. from 1 *Cor.* v. 7.

Ib. xiii. καλεοδωθεῖτε. εὐοδῶσθαι, a verb used in the New Testament.

*Ad Trall.* vii. μὴ φυσιμένοις. a word often used by St Paul.

Ib. viii. μηδεὶς [τί] κατὰ τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐχέτω. from *Mat.* v. 23.

Ib. x. —ὥσπερ τινες—λέγουσι—ἐγὼ τί δέδεται; τί εὐχομαι θηριομαχεῖσαι; &c. from 1 *Cor.* xv. 15, 32.

Ib. xi. ἔκ εἰσιν φύσεια Πατέρων. from *Mat.* xv. 13.

Ib. xii. ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὐρεθῶ. from 1 *Cor.* ix. 27.

*Ad Roman.* ii.—τῷ σπονδισθῆναι Θεῷ. from 2 *Tim.* iv. 6.

Ib. iii. τὰ δὲ φαινόμενα πρόσκαιρα τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. from 2 *Cor.* iv. 18.

Ib. vi. τί δὲ ὠφελεῖται—&c. from *Mat.* xvi. 26. But perhaps this is an interpolation. It is not in the old version.

Ib. vii. ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσαύρωται—ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, ἢ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί— from *Gal.* vi. 14. *John* iv. 14.

Ib. ix. ἔκλερωμα. from 1 *Cor.* xv. 8.

*Ad Philadelph.* vi.—ἵνα ἐξάργυρά τινα—from 2 *Cor.* xii.

Ib. ix. αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα. from *John* x. 7.

Ib. x. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις. from *1 Cor.* xi. 20.

*Ad Smyrn.* iii. συνέφαγεν ἔ συνεπιν. from *Acts* x. 41.

Ib. iv.—μὴ παραδέχασθαι—from *John* Epist. ii. 10.

Ib. x. τὰ δεσμά μου—ἐκ ἐπαισχύνθητε, read ἐπησχύνθητε. from *2 Tim.* i. 16.

Ib. εἰδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται Χριστός. from *Mark* viii. 38. or *Luke* ix. 26.

The *Epistle* to *Polycarp*, which is the last, is also inferior to the rest : there is some reason to suspect that it is not genuine.

*Ad Philadelph.* v.—προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, ἔ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. *Confugiens ad Evangelium tanquam ad carnem Jesu, et ad Apostolos velut ad Ecclesiæ Presbyterium, &c.*

*Quæ verba videntur de evangelii et apostolicis scriptis intelligenda ; ita ut hoc velit Ignatius, cognoscendæ divine voluntatis causa, se confugere ad evangelia, quibus crederet non secus ac si Christus ipse in carne, hoc est, in eo statu quo fuit in terris, conspicuus et etiamnum apud homines vivens, eos sermones, qui in evangelii leguntur, ore suo proferret ; tum etiam ad scripta Apostolorum, quos habebat quasi totius Christianæ ecclesiæ presbyterium, sub Christo omnium Episcopo, quod cætus Christianos omnes, quid credendum sit, doceret. Unde quantifient libri sacri Novi Testamenti, hisce temporibus, satis liquet. Addit : Sed et Prophetas amamus, quia ipsi nunciarunt, quæ pertinent ad evangelium, id sperarunt, atque expectarunt. Quæ respiciunt Vetus Testamentum, prout scriptum exstat, nam aliunde Prophetæ Ignatio innotescere non potuerant. Nec leviter prætermittendum, ab eo, primo quidem loco Novi Testamenti scripta, per quæ Christiani sumus, memorari, quasi per-fugium suum ; secundo vero Veteris Libros, quia ex iis Novum confirmari potest. Clericus, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 567.*



In the same epistle, viii. Ignatius introduces a Jew, saying, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἢ πιστεύω, *Nisi invenero in antiquis (vaticiniis) Evangelio non credo.* Where see Le Clerc.

*Ad Smyrn.* v. ὅς ἐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι, ἃ δ' ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, ἀλλ' ὃ δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. *Quibus nec prophetice persuasere, nec Mosis lex, sed nec Evangelium.* He speaks of heretics, who denied that Christ had a body, and that he really suffered. How were such people to be converted or confuted? By the testimony of the apostles, recorded in the New Testament; of men, who, as Ignatius says, did eat and drink with the Lord, both before and after his resurrection: consequently εὐαγγέλιον in this place means the gospels, the books of the New Testament.

Ib. vii. προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελειώται. *Attendere autem prophetis, precipue autem Evangelio, in quo passio nobis ostensa, et resurrectio perfecta est.*

Thus the *shorter epistles* of Ignatius allude to the writings of the apostles; but in the *larger epistles*, which are generally supposed to be *interpolated*, the passages of the Old and New Testament are more numerous, and cited more accurately and directly, and sometimes impertinently, as in the *Constitutions*, and introduced with, Thus saith our Lord—Thus says Paul, and Peter, and Luke, and, Thus say the scriptures. The apostolical fathers rather allude than cite; and therefore the hand of the forger discovers itself in these *larger epistles*.

Ignatius wrote his letters when he was condemned, and chained, and guarded, and conducted by soldiers, who were mere brutes, and used him ill; οἱ καὶ ἐνερgetάμενοι χεῖρας γινώσκειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μαλλον μαθητεύομαι.

μαί. *Qui et beneficio affecti, peiores fiunt : at ego eorum injuriis magis erudior, or, Christi discipulus fio.* Ad Rom. v. We may justly suppose, and the word ἐργασίμενοι implies it, that the Christians who attended this most venerable bishop and martyr, and resorted to him on his journey to Rome, gave money to his guards, that they might be permitted to converse with him, and to minister to him, and that he might have leave to write and send his letters ; and this small indulgence was granted by those ruffians with an ill grace, and in an insolent manner. Therefore, it is more probable, that the *shorter* epistles should be genuine than the *larger*, with their pomp and parade of passages from the Old and New Testament, which

—secessum scribentis et otia quærent.

In the *interpolated epistles* of Ignatius *Ad Ephes.* v. λέγει δὲ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς· ὁ ὑμῶν ἀκούων, ἐμὲ ἀκούει. *The Lord says to the priests, He that heareth you, heareth me, &c.* from *Luke* x. 16. A very suspicious phrase : why does this writer call the disciples priests ?

Ib. xii. ἐγὼ ἐλάχιστος Ἰγνατίος—ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ἰγνατίου ἐλάχιστος. *Ego minimus Ignatius—minimus a sanguine Abelis justique usque ad Ignatii sanguinem.* In this application of scripture there is a vanity, under a feigned modesty, which ill suits with this humble and pious martyr, who as yet had not shed his blood.

*Ad Magnes.* iii. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς, δωδεκαετὴς, γέγονε κατόχος τῷ Θεῷ πνεύματι. *Daniel enim ille sapiens, quum duodecim esset annorum, spiritu divino afflatus est.* A childish romance ; and what follows is no better.

*Ad Philad.* iv. οἱ ἄρχοντες πειθαρχεῖτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι, ὡς τὰ ἰσχύουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. *Principes obediant Cæsari, milites principibus.* This smells of interpolation : Ignatius addresses him-

This

self not to Pagans, but to Christians ; and it may be questioned, whether in his time there were Christian officers and soldiers in the Roman army. See Moyle's Letters concerning the *Thundering Legion*, whose arguments in behalf of the negative are very strong.

*Ad Smyrn.* v. speaking of heretics, he says, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὅτι αἵ ἄπιστοι, νῦν ἐκ ἔδοξε μοι ἐγγράψαι μηδὲ γένοιτό με αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν, μέχρις ἢ μετανόησωσιν. *Nomina vero eorum, cum sint infidelia, non visum est mihi [nunc] scribere : et vero absit a me ut eorum mentionem faciam, donec pœnitentia ducantur.* And accordingly, the genuine Ignatius mentions not, I think, the name of any heretic. But how does this agree with the catalogue of heretics in the *interpolated* epistle *ad Trallianos*, where he names Simon, Menander, Basilides, the Nicolaitæ, Theodotus, Cleobulus ? The interpolator seems to have been aware of it, and therefore he has slyly inserted a νῦν ἐκ ἔδοξε, *at this time I will not name them.* In the *shorter* epistle we have ἐκ ἔδοξε without the νῦν. Observe that the *nunc* is not in the Latin translation joined to the *interpolated* epistles ; but it is omitted or dropped by some accident, for it is in the ancient Latin version of the *interpolated* epistles,—*non est mihi nunc visum scribere.*

*Ib.* ix. Τίμα, φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι· Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεόν, ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων ἢ κύριον. ἐπίσκοπον δὲ, ὡς ἀρχιερέα, Θεὸς εἰκόνα φορεῖν κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεὸς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱεραλεῦειν, Χριστῷ. ἢ μετὰ τούτων, τιμᾶν χρὴ ἢ βασιλέα. *My son, says Solomon, honour God and the king : but I say unto you, Honour God, as the Author and the Lord of all ; and the bishop as the high-priest who bears the image of God ; of God, as he is a ruler, and of Christ, as he is a priest. And after him honour the king also.*

The



The author of this commandment, in all probability, was a bishop, but not such a bishop as Ignatius. *The scripture says—but I say—I who am wiser and greater than Solomon.* A very modest speech truly, and much in character, and becoming the meek Ignatius ! Here the bishop is equalled, or rather, is preferred to Jesus Christ ; for Christ is not supposed to be ἄρχων, a *Ruler*, though he be *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.* After this homage is paid to the bishop, leave is given to the Christians to honour Cæsar. How condescending and gracious, and how well contrived to make the Roman emperors very fond of their Christian subjects ! But this is altogether in the style of the *Apostolical Constitutions.*

*It.* He says to those who had shewed him kindness, ὁ τιμῶν δέσμιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μαρτύρων λήψεται μισθόν. *Qui honorat vinctum Jesu Christi, martyrum accipiet mercedem.* Ignatius would not have spoken thus of himself.

There are in these epistles a multitude of places which agree with the *Constitutions* ; the one certainly transcribes the other, and both are of the same stamp, *ejusdem farinae* \*.

*Polycarp*, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, supposed to be written about A. D. 107, has passages and expressions from *Matthew, Luke, the Acts, St Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Ephesians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 1 Epist. of John, and 1 of Peter*, and makes particular

\* The reader is desired to observe, that these *larger* epistles have been examined and condemned, as *interpolated*, by Usher, Pearson, Hammond, Cotelierius, Is. Vossius, Le Clerc, and many others, to whose objections and arguments I have endeavoured here to add a few more, and shall add something further when I come to speak of Ignatius.



lar mention of *St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*. Indeed his whole epistle consists of phrases and sentiments taken from the New Testament. To the references in the margin might be added,

iii. ἡτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ὑμῶν. from *Gal.* iv. 26.

vi. Πάντα ἡμῶν σκοπεῖται, (or μωμοσκοπεῖται) καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν ὕδεν, ὅτε λογισμῶν, ὅτε ἐννοιῶν, ὅτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.

This is manifestly taken from *Heb.* iv. 12, 13.

The heretics also, who were contemporaries with the apostles and apostolical fathers, bear their testimony to the existence of the New Testament, and most of them had their forged or interpolated gospels and epistles, as knowing that without something of this kind they could not hope to get and retain any followers.

Simon the magician, and his disciples, are said to have composed books for the propagation of their stupid doctrines, and to have ascribed those books to Christ and to the apostles, that they might impose them upon silly people. If so, this was done in opposition to the books of the New Testament, and in imitation of them. The Christians afterwards were even with this reprobate, for they related many an idle story about *him*, and also made him a more considerable impostor than probably he ever was, though he seduced several poor wretches.

The Gnostics admitted some, and rejected other parts of the New Testament.

The Cerinthians received part of St Matthew's gospel, and rejected every thing else; particularly the epistles of St Paul, whom they had in great abomination.

The Ebionites and Nazarenes had a gospel according to the Hebrews, or a Hebrew gospel of St Matthew

Matthew corrupted and interpolated ; they had also other forged books bearing the names of apostles.

The Basilidians admitted the New Testament, but with such alterations as they judged proper : and so did the Valentinians.

The Carpocratians made use of the gospel of St Matthew.

See Tillemont *Hist. Eccl.* ii. p. 41, 51, 59, 109, 220, 225, 261. *Quarto Edit.* to which I shall always refer.

These old heretics went about in quest of fools, whom they had the art to turn into madmen :

—*hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit.*

An art, which is not to be reckoned amongst the *deperdita*.

Before the end of the first century, the world was pestered with the disciples of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, and Basilides, concerning whom see Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccl.*

The Basilidians made three hundred and sixty-five heavens, and were better castle-builders than those who gave us schemes of the *seven heavens*, which is a poor inconsiderable number. Basilides required of his followers five years silence ; *which was a proper method*, as Le Clerc observes, *to make an experiment of their folly ; and indeed he might be sure that the scholar was mad in good earnest, who with a profound submission and silence had paid so long an attendance on a knave that taught and did a thousand absurdities.* Basilides, in all probability, only required this silence from his disciples when they were in his company, and was so great a talker, that he suffered no body else to put in a word. His lectures upon the three hundred and sixty-five heavens could not take up less time than a year,

year, and he would never have ended them, if he had been interrupted, and obliged to answer doubters and cavillers.

The predictions of Christ concerning the calamities of the Jews could not have been inserted as interpolations after the event :

Because they are incidentally placed up and down in the gospels \*, by way of parable, or in answer to questions,

\* For example :

Mat. v. 5. 'Blessed are the meek ; for they shall inherit the earth.' This was literally fulfilled when the believing Jews returned to their own country, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

x. 23. 'Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come.'

xv. 13. 'Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.'

xvi. 28. 'There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till,' &c.

xxi. 19. 'Presently the fig-tree withered away.'

xxi. 41. 'He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen,' &c.

xxi. 44. 'On whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.'

xxii. 7. 'He sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burnt up their city.'

xxiii. 36. 'All these things shall come upon this generation.'

Luke xi. 50. 'That the blood of the prophets—may be required of this generation.'

xiii. 5. 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.'

xiii. 9. 'If it bear fruit, well ; and if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.'

xvii. 24. 'As the lightning—so shall the Son of Man be in his day.'

xix. 27. 'Those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.'

xix. 42. 'If thou hadst known, even thou,' &c.

xxiii. 28. 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me,' &c.

John iv. 21. 'The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father.'

xxi. 22. 'If I will that he tarry till I come,' &c.

questions, or on account of some circumstance of time and place bringing on the discourse :

Because the books of the New Testament were received by Christians, and copied, and widely dispersed, and perhaps translated from their first appearance :

Because these predictions in the gospels are alluded to, or the same thing is taught, in other parts of the New Testament :

Because no Jews or Pagans ever reproached the Christians with inserting them, not *Trypho*, not *Celsus* \*, not *Porphyry*, not *Julian*. The objections of *Trypho* † are to be found in *Justin Martyr*, those of *Celsus* in *Origen*, those of *Porphyry* in *Holstenius Vit. Porph.* ch. xi. and *Julian's* in his own works and in *Cyril* :

Because there is in them a mixture of obscurity, and needless difficulty, needless if they were forged. Christ foretold the destruction of the city and temple, and the calamities of the Jews, fully and clearly : but being asked when this should be, he gave an answer in a sublime and prophetic style, saying, that the sun should

To these must be added the parallel places from the other gospels, and the prophecy of John the Baptist, Mat. iii. 10. ‘ And now also the ax is laid to the root of the trees ; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire,’ &c.

\* Whom some people call a Jew : they might as well call him a Quaker, or a Muggletonian. The man was not even a proselyte of the gate, but a mere Epicurean philosopher, who, if proper pains had been taken with him, might possibly have become a Sadducee.

† *Trypho* had perused the gospels, and says to Justin, ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Εὐαγγελίῳ παραγέγραμμένα θαυμαστὰ ἔσται καὶ μεγάλα ἐπίσταμαι εἶναι, ὥς υπολαμβάνειν μηδὲνα δύνασθαι φυλάξαι αὐτά· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐμέλησεν ἐν-  
τυχεῖν αὐτοῖς. Sed et vestra illa in eo, quod vocatis, Evangelio præcepta ita mirabilia et magna esse scio, ut suspicio sit neminem ea posse servare ; mihi enim curæ, fuit ut ea legerem. *Dial. cum Tryph.*



should be darkened, and the moon should not give her light, and the stars should fall from heaven, &c. which would not be easily understood, if learned and judicious commentators had not cleared it up; and this he might possibly do to perplex the unbelieving, persecuting Jews, if his discourses should ever fall into their hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil. The believing Jews themselves, notwithstanding this prediction, stood in need of a second admonition, and were divinely warned to fly from Jerusalem, say Eusebius and Epiphanius \*. See Euseb. iii. 5. and the notes. So loath are people to leave their own house and home, even when they see destruction at the door:

Because Christ not only foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, but the continuance of that desolation. *Jerusalem*, says he, *shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. Take what interpretation you will, so it be not absurd, and add to it a matter of fact, namely the state of the Jews ever since, and it must be owned that a considerable length of time is implied:

Because Christ declared that these evils should befall them for not knowing the time of their visitation, and for rejecting him; whence it followed, that as long as their rebellion and disobedience continued, the sentence against them would not be reversed.

## E 2

If

\* Οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐκ Ἰουδαίων εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότες, μακρὰν τῆς Ἰουδαίας γῆς γενόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθεσιν ἐπισπαρέντες, τὸν κατὰ τῶν οἰκένων τὴν πόλιν ὕληθρον διαδράναι τότε ἐδυνήθησαν. Ipsi apostoli ac discipuli Salvatoris nostri, et omnes, qui ex Judæis ad ipsum credentes accesserant, cum procul ab Judæa terra abessent, et reliquis essent immixti gentibus, omnem eorum, qui civitatem incolebant, perditionem atque interitum effugere per illud tempus facile potuerant. *Euseb. Dem. Evang. vi. 287.*

If it should be said that Christ, as a wise and sagacious man, might foresee the storm,

"Εσσεῖται ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἂν πάλ' ὀλώλῃ "Ιλιος ἱερὴ \* ,

this would be a disingenuous shift to evade a plain truth. Christ would not have acted suitably to his character and usual conduct, and to common prudence, if he had staked his reputation on conjectures ; and in the reign of Tiberius there was no appearance of such an event, and much less of the various circumstances attending it, which he foretold. The Romans had no interest to destroy and depopulate a country which was subject to them, and whence they reaped many advantages, and the Jews had not strength to hope for success in a war against them.

If it should be said that Christ took his prophecies from Daniel, his just interpretation of Daniel shews him to be the Messiah mentioned by Daniel, since none besides himself at that time had even a tolerable claim to that character. Daniel foretold, that in seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, a most holy person should be anointed ; that this Messiah should be cut off ; that a prince should come with an army, and cause the sacrifices to cease, and plant abominable idols in the holy place, and destroy the city and temple, and make the land utterly desolate, and put an end to the Jewish polity, *ch. ix.* But Christ is more explicit and circumstantial than Daniel, and in many respects his prediction was new and altogether his own.

Josephus says, that the *Zealots* trampled under foot all laws divine and human, and made a jest of their own sacred books, and derided the writings of the prophets. ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ τὰς τῶν προφητῶν δις μὲν ὥσπερ ἀγρυπνίας λογοποιίας ἐχλεύαζον—*divina autem quæque deridebantur,*

\* The day will come, when sacred Troy shall fall.

*bantur, et prophetarum oracula ut præstigiatorum commenta subsannabant*—ἦν γὰρ δὴ τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τότε τὴν πόλιν αἰλώσεσθαι, καὶ καταφλεγέσεσθαι τὰ ἅγια νόμῳ πολεμῶν, εἰς οὗτον ἐάν κατασκήψῃ, καὶ χεῖρες οἰκῆται προσιάνωσι τὸ τῷ Θεῷ τέμενος· οἷς ὅΥΚ ἀπισήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνους ἐαυτῶν ἐπέδσαν. *Vetus enim virorum sermo quidem erat, tum urbem captum iri, et loca sancta conflagratura jure belli, ubi seditio invaserit, et indigenarum manus polluerint sacratum Deo locum. Quibus licet fidem non detraherent Zelotæ, tamen ipsi se earum rerum ministros præbuerunt.* B. J. iv.

6. This seems to have been a traditionary interpretation of Daniel, a λόγος, a report, and not a written prophecy. But here is a negative which seems to contradict what was said before. It should perhaps be οἷς ἀπισήσαντες—or something to the same effect, and the meaning may be, that the impious zealots caused those prophecies to be fulfilled in the destruction of themselves and their nation, which they had ridiculed and disbelieved.

Many of the first Christians, who were Jews dwelling in Judea, sold their lands and possessions. The Gentiles did it not when the gospel came to them, and none of St Paul's Epistles contain any such precept, or intimate any such practice. The Jews acted thus, though not by the command, yet doubtless with the approbation of the apostles, and the most probable reason for it was this; they knew that Christ had foretold the destruction of their country, which should come upon it before that generation were passed away, and therefore they thought it proper, whilst there was opportunity, to improve to the best use their estates, which they should not long enjoy, by relieving their poorer brethren, and by enabling the first teachers to pursue their travels from place to place. Therefore



also when the gospel was spread amongst the Gentiles, the apostles were careful to make collections in their churches for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem, since it was just that a provision should be made for those who had given up all for the common good, and at whose charges the gospel was at first preached amongst some of the Gentiles. See *Jos. Mede* Disc. on *Prov.* xxxvii. 7.

We read in the Acts of the Apostles that the Jews suborned and set up false witnesses against Stephen, who said, *We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this holy place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.* Now though these were calumniators, yet probably something had been said, which gave occasion to the accusation, and St Stephen had been heard to mention the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and the inferiority of the ceremonial to the moral law. See Grotius.

This is one reason why the unbelieving Jews hated the disciples of Christ so implacably, because *they did not prophesy good concerning the nation, but evil.*

Μάνηι νακῶν, ἔ πάποτέ μοι τὸ κήρυον εἶπας.

The author of the *Recognitions of Clemens*, introduces St Peter telling the Jews that the temple would be destroyed, and adds, well enough, that upon this all the priests were highly enraged, i. 64.

The destruction of the Jewish nation is not mentioned by Jesus Christ, as a threatened calamity which might be averted by repentance, but as a decree which was fixed and unalterable. *If thou hadst known, &c. but now they are hid from thine eyes.—Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away:* that is, sooner shall heaven and earth pass away, than my predictions pass away unfulfilled. The best and the  
most



most probable method, by which a Jew might secure himself from being involved in this national evil, was to embrace Christianity : for which, amongst other reasons, St Paul says to the Jews, *Beware therefore lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the Prophets : Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish ; for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it to you*, Acts xiii. 40. which words of St Paul, and of the Prophets, as they are applied by him, seem plainly to intimate the approaching ruin of that people. *Apud Lucam Paulus optime hæc verba aptat ad excidium simile eventurum per Romanos.* Grotius ad Habac. i. 5. *Patet proprie de Chaldeis agi*, Habak. i. 5, 6. *Paulus tamen hoc opus paradoxum considerans tanquam coherens cum aliis gravissimis Dei judiciis, processu temporis vulgandis in eandem gentem,—id ad judicia et mala, quæ Judeos sui temporis manebant, transtulit.* Vitringa ad Jesai. x. 12. See him also on Isa. xxviii. 21. and Hammond on Acts xiii. 40.

These things amount to an evidence which cannot reasonably be resisted :

—*ita res accendunt lumina rebus.*

The ancient Christians saw it plainly, and insisted upon it strongly \*, as upon a satisfactory proof of the truth of Christianity ; and the proof is as evident now as it was then. It highly deserves the serious considera-

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tion

\* Συκρίνας δὲ τις τὰς τῷ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῷ Κυριεφάως ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τῷ παντὸς πολέμου, πῶς ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀποθαυμάσειεν θεῖαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς παρὰ δόξαν τὴν πρόγνωσιν τε καὶ προῶρῃσιν τῷ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσας ; Quod si quis Servatoris nostri verba cum iis compareret, quæ ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur præscientiam ac prædictionem Servatoris nostri, eamque vere divinam et supra modum stupendam esse fateatur, *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 7.*

tion of those who doubt or disbelieve. Whosoever is of a studious and inquisitive disposition, and not of a sanguine complexion, has probably known what it is to doubt ; and has perhaps been offended at certain writers, who are incapable of owning or of feeling a difficulty, and who convince none, except those that stand in no need of conviction, and to some of whom it might be said, *Urbem proditis, dum castella defenditis* : but here is a prophecy, and here is a completion, to which, if we can make no reasonable objection, we ought to admit the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to endeavour to know, and to do his sacred will, accounting this to be the best foundation of our present hopes, and of our future happiness.

If the illustrious and most important prophecy which I have considered, and some others which shall be mentioned, have been evidently delivered, and evidently accomplished ; and if the miracles of Christ and of his apostles may be proved, as I shall endeavour to shew ; it is a fair consequence, that Christianity is a true religion, and that it cannot be made false, or ambiguous, by any arguments drawn from the notions, or from the behaviour of believers after the times of the apostles.

Much may be said, and something shall be offered, in behalf of the fathers and Christians of the three first centuries, who suffered so greatly for so good a cause, and whose abilities, if they are over-valued by some, are as much depreciated by others. No Christian would willingly give them up in any point, where there is room to defend them : but the imperfections and mistakes from which they were not free, (and who is free ?) and their credulity in some things, and in  
ages

ages which were not critical, and a kind of credulity, to which an honest man, as such, is more liable than a crafty impostor, can never invalidate the proofs internal and external of the truth of Christianity.

The confirming and settling these great points, upon which our faith is founded, without a view to any particular systems and controversies, as it is the most agreeable employment to an ingenuous mind, so is it usually the most disinterested of all occupations. Whosoever is resolved to employ his hours and his labour in this manner, should consider himself as one who lays out his fortunes in mending the high-ways: many are benefited, and few are obliged. If he escapes obloquy, it is very well:

—*Triumpho, si licet me latere tecto abscedere.*

I have only this to add concerning the present subject, that Christ having said of the city and temple, *One stone shall not be left upon another*, learned men have taken pains to shew that this was exactly and literally fulfilled, either under Vespasian, or under Adrian, or in the time of *Julian*.

If any one should be of opinion that they have not proved this point, I desire he would observe, that the words are proverbial and figurative, and only denote utter ruin and desolation, and would have been truly accomplished, though every single stone had not been overturned; as a house or city is said *κατασκαφῆναι*, when it is destroyed, though its foundations be not digged up.

Malachi, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, says, *The day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord*  
of



of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch, iv. 1. This was truly accomplished, though every unconverted Jew did not perish in that general calamity. Proverbial sayings are not mathematical axioms.

Eusebius, mentioning the prophecy of Micah, *Zion shall be plowed as a field*, iii. 12. says, Εἰ γὰρ τι δύναται καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἰστορία, καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς τὴν πάλαι βοομένην Σιών ζεύγεσι βοῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἀρμυμένην ὀφθαλμοῖς παρειλήφαμεν, καὶ τὴν γε Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὡς αὐτὸ γέ φησι τὸ λόγιον; ὁπωροφυλακίᾳ δίκην ἀπολειφθέντος, ἐν παντέλει καλασᾶσαν ἐρημίᾳ. *Quod si quidquam nostra quoque historia valet, nostris ipsorum temporibus, illam antiquitus celebratam Sion junctis bubus a Romanis viris arari, nostris oculis inspeximus, et ipsam Hierusalem, quemadmodum ipsum hoc ait oraculum, instar pomorum custodiæ desertæ, ad extremam redactam solitudinem.* Dem. Evang. v. 273. Eusebius was Bishop of Cæsarea, and lived near enough to have frequent opportunities of viewing the ruins of Jerusalem, and in them the completion of Christ's predictions. The words ἡ ἡμετέρα ἰστορία mean, *the knowledge and the testimony of what we have seen ourselves*; and the Latin tongue has no single word which exactly answers to this sense of ἰστορία. Herodotus begins his book thus, Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ ἰστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, which James Gronovius translates, *Herodoti Halicarnassensis curæ demonstratio hæc est.* But this interpretation stands in need of another. Kuster thus explains the place, *Notandum est ἰστορίαν non solum denotare historiam, sive rerum gestarum narrationem, vel descriptionem; sed etiam, et quidem proprie, cognitionem rerum quas vel oculis ipsi lustravimus, vel ex aliis sciscitando didicimus; vel studium res varias, eo, quo diximus, modo cognoscendi.* *Et quoniam primi et antiquissimi Historici vix alias res memorice prodere poterant, quam*



*quas vel ipsi vidissent, vel ex aliis sciscitati essent, hinc recte et proprio sensu dicebantur ἰσορίνοί. Postea vero latius, ut fieri solet, extensâ vocis ejus significatione, etiam quicumque alii rerum gestarum scriptores eodem nomine simpliciter appellari cœperunt. Proœmium Historiæ Herodotæ Latine sic verterim : Rerum ab Herodoto Halicarnassensi curiose observatarum specimen hoc est. Vel per longiorem periphrasin : Curiositatis, quam Herodotus adhibuit, in rebus, quas narrat, vel lustrandis, vel sciscitandis, specimen, vel argumentum, hoc est.*

Le Clerc thinks that ἰσορίης ἀπόδεξις may be rendered, *Quod in historia præstitit*. But, however, the observations of Kuster upon the word ἰσορίη are just and true. See *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. & M. V. 385. Ἡροδότου ἰσορίης ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε.—*Herodotus res a se observatas et investigatas edidit, ut neque, &c.*

I now proceed to make some remarks on prophecy in general, and then on the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to our Saviour.

That God foreknows even all the future actions of men, is what the holy scriptures most evidently suppose and prove, and what the bulk of mankind in all ages have believed. This opinion arose probably, not so much from arguments drawn from the Divine perfections, as from experience, tradition, and revelation. It appears in sacred history, that God Almighty from the most ancient times revealed himself to men by foretelling future events, which is prophecy. The uses of prophecy, besides gradually opening and unfolding the things relating to the Messiah, and the blessings which by him should be conferred upon mankind, are many, and great, and manifest.

1. It served to secure the belief of a God, and of a providence.

As God is invisible and spiritual, there was cause to fear that in the first and ruder ages of the world, when men were busier in cultivating the earth, than in cultivating the arts and sciences, and in seeking the necessities of life, than in the study of morality, they might forget their Creator and Governor ; and therefore God maintained amongst them the great article of faith in him, by manifestations of himself ; by sending angels to declare his will ; by miracles and by prophecies. These were barriers against Atheism.

2. It was intended to give men the profoundest veneration for that amazing knowledge from which nothing was concealed, not even the future actions of creatures, and the things which as yet were not. How could a man hope to hide any counsel, any design, or thought from such a being ?

3. It contributed to keep up devotion and true religion, the religion of the heart, which consists partly in entertaining just and honourable notions of God and of his perfections, and which is a more rational and a more acceptable service than rites and ceremonies.

4. It excited men to rely upon God, and to love him, who condescended to hold this mutual intercourse with his creatures, and to permit them to consult him, as one friend asks advice of another.

5. It was intended to keep the people to whom God revealed himself, from idolatry, a sin to which the Jews would be inclined, both from the disposition to it which they had acquired in Egypt, and from the contagion of bad example. The people of Israel were strictly forbidden to consult the diviners, and the gods of other nations, and to use any enchantments and  
wicked

wicked arts ; and that they might have no temptation to it, God permitted them to apply to him and to his prophets, even upon small occasions ; and he raised up amongst them a succession of prophets, to whom they might have resort for advice and direction. These prophets were revered abroad, as well as at home, and consulted by foreign princes, and in the times of the captivity they were honoured by great kings, and advanced to high stations.

Man has a strong desire to look forward, and to know things to come. This desire, if it be discreetly governed, is natural and innocent, and there are several things which it would be of great temporal benefit and advantage to foresee. For example : Man would be glad to know how he may shun a future evil. Thus Noah was warned to build an ark, in which he and his family should be saved from the flood : thus Lot was commanded to fly from Sodom, with his wife and daughters : thus David was told to escape from a strong hold where he dwelt, and afterwards from Keilah : thus, in the Pagan world, Socrates, as his disciples Plato and Xenophon affirm, had a dæmon or good genius, who never exhorted him to any thing, but dissuaded him from such things as would prove hurtful ; by which secret warning he is said often to have preserved himself and his friends, and to have given them advice, which, if they followed not, they constantly found cause to repent. See a dissertation of Olearius in Stanley's *Historia Philosophiæ*, and Le Clerc *Bibl. Chois.* xxii. p. 426. xxiii. p. 226. and *Silv. Philol.* c. iii. Olearius and Le Clerc believed that Socrates had such a dæmon, and I confess myself so far a fanatic, as to incline to the same opinion, but without blaming those who are of another mind.

When



When Socrates, just before he expired, ordered his friend to offer up a cock to Æsculapius, it is possible that he was delirious, through the poison which he had taken, as a learned and ingenious physician observed to me. Scribonius Largus says, *Cicutam ergo potam caligo, mentisque alienatio, & artuum gelatio insequitur: ultimoque præfocantur, qui eam sumserunt, nihilque sentiunt.* Compos. 179.

To this head belong sundry prophecies containing a double fate, if you will permit the expression, which should be accomplished according as men would act. Thus Jeremiah told the kings and the people of Judah, that if they would repent, they should be prosperous; if not, they should be destroyed: And to Zedekiah he privately declared; *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, If thou wilt assuredly go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burnt with fire, and thou shalt live, and thy house. But if thou wilt not go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then shall this city be given into the hand of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand. Obey, I beseech thee, the voice of the Lord which I speak unto thee: so shall it be well with thee, and thy soul shall live.*

Thus Achilles in Homer is represented as having a twofold conditional event declared to him; if he returned home, he was to prolong his days, but to live and die in obscurity; if he continued in the army, he was to be cut off in the flower of his youth, but to obtain everlasting honour; upon which he preferred glory to length of life.

Μήτηρ γάρ τέ μη φησὶ θεὰ, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,  
Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν δανάτοιο τέλοσδε.



Εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,  
 "Ωλετο μὲν μοι νόσος, ατὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσαι  
 Εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκοιμι φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
 "Ωλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δὴρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν  
 "Εσσεῖται, ὃδ' ἐκ' ἐμ' ὦκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχεῖη.

*II. I. 410.*

The same poet tells us that Polyidus, a diviner, assured his son Euchenor, that, if he stayed at home, he should fall sick and die ; and if he went to Troy, he should be slain in battle : upon which the youth chose the latter fate.

"Ἦν δέ τις Εὐχίνωρ, Πολυΐδου μάντις υἱός,  
 "Ὅς ῥ' εὖ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὀλοὴν, ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε  
 Πολλάκι γάρ οἱ ἔειπε γέρον ἀγαθὸς Πολυΐδης,  
 Νέσσω ὑπ' ἀρβυλλῇ φθίσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν,  
 "Ἢ μὲλ' Ἀχαιῶν νηυσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι.

*II. N. 663.*

Thus the Pagans had the same notion with that which is mentioned in Scripture, of a double destiny, depending on human choice.

Again : Man would be glad to know that he shall obtain a future good. Hope is one of the greatest comforts that poor mortals have in this world ; but a certain foresight of prosperity produces a more solid joy, and a firmer support. God made some favourable predictions to Noah. He promised a multitude of blessings to Abraham, relating to him, to his family, and to his posterity. When Hagar was driven from her home, she and her son, and cast out into the wide world, an angel comforted her, and assured her that her son should be the father of a great nation. God repeated the same promises to Isaac which he had made to Abraham. He revealed himself to Jacob, when he was forced to fly from his father's house, and

gave

gave him assurances of support and protection. He foretold to *Moses*, that by him he would deliver the people of Israel, and to *Joshua*, that he should be victorious in all his wars, and to *David* that he should be king of Israel, and that the kingdom should continue in his family. *Jeremiah* comforted *Baruch* in his affliction with this prophecy, *Thus saith the Lord, I will bring evil on all flesh, but thy life will I give thee for a prey in all places whither thou goest.* xlv. 5. He himself, who was a man of sorrows, and lived in calamitous times, received this consolation from God, *I am with thee to save thee, and to deliver thee.* He also received an order from God to say to *Ebedmelech* the *Aethiopian*, *I will bring evil upon this city, but I will deliver thee in that day, saith the Lord, and thou shalt not be given into the hand of the men of whom thou art afraid: for I will surely deliver thee, and thou shalt not fall by the sword, but thy life shall be for a prey unto thee, because thou hast put thy trust in me, saith the Lord.* In the New Testament we find that *St Paul*, on some occasions, had a promise of deliverance out of the hands of his enemies. Our Saviour prophesied evil, that is, temporal evil, to all his disciples, and told them, that they should be exercised with sufferings and afflictions; but to compensate this, he promised them in the present world peace of mind, and joy in the Holy Spirit, and the Divine assistance, and in the world to come, eternal happiness.

9. It must have been a great satisfaction to the illustrious persons whom we have mentioned, and to others recorded in sacred history, that they were secure of the Divine favour and protection. This must have given them courage and constancy under all the difficulties of life, and have enabled them to look danger and

and distress in the face. The Greek poet describing Ulysses as an example of prudence, patience, resolution and presence of mind under a variety of trials, supposes that he had not only the assistance of Pallas, but a prediction from Tiresias, that he should at last return home, and subdue his domestic enemies, and reign happy over his happy subjects, and come to a good old age. *Odyss.* A. 90.

To receive predictions of future unavoidable evils would be a curse rather than a blessing, and in the scriptures, when such predictions are delivered, it is by way of punishment. Thus God foretold to Eli all the evil which he would bring upon his family, and the prophets denounced upon some occasions the calamities which should befall some wicked people, and the untimely death which they should not escape.

To know future blessings of which we shall partake, and to receive an admonition how we may avoid an impending evil, are favours which men would often be glad to receive; and these favours were granted to the people of God in ancient times and ruder ages, for several reasons which we have enumerated but when by his Son he had introduced a purer and sublimer religion, he no longer continued, under the evangelical dispensation, to inform men of such temporal events. It is enough for a Christian to know that he may secure to himself everlasting happiness by his obedience. As the great things relating to the next state were more clearly revealed, the smaller things relating to this world, and to its frivolous concerns, were shut up in obscurity.

The knowledge of the things which will befall us, and our parents, and children, and friends, how long we and they shall live, and when and how we shall



die, are secrets which God has concealed from us; and which in wisdom and kindness he has concealed from us. Sometimes prosperous events come most agreeable when they are least expected, and it would be a sad thing to anticipate all our griefs, and to be miserable before hand.

And yet such has been the disposition of men in almost all ages, that many have had an intemperate desire of this knowledge, which gave rise and encouragement to wicked arts and to vile impostures. History, both ancient and modern, informs us of this, and affords us several examples of princes, statesmen, politicians, who have had little or no religion, who have been mere atheists both in principles and in practice, as Tiberius, the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and others, who yet were very credulous in this way, with all their free-thinking, and gave great heed to divination; and to predictions made by pretenders to those arts; so that irreligion and superstition are not at all inconsistent, and he who believes no God, may believe in evil spirits, or unknown powers, or fatal influences of the heavenly bodies. Pliny the elder, who had atheistical notions, yet says of earthquakes, that the mischief which they portend is as great as that which they cause, if not greater, and that the city of Rome was never shaken with one, which did not forebode future evil. *Nec vero simplex malum, aut in ipso tantum motu periculum est; sed par aut majus ostento. Nunquam urbs Roma tremuit, ut non futuri eventus alicujus id prænuncium esset.* L. II. lxxxvi. p. 113.

*Il n'y a rien de si commun, que de voir les Incrédulés entêter de l'Astrologie Judiciaire, et persuader que les Magiciens font des choses qui sont au dessus de l'ordre de la nature. Par exemple, on accuse deux grands ministres*



ministres d'Etat, dont les actions ne nous laissent pas croire que la foi en Dieu fût une de leurs plus grandes vertus, d'avoir crû tous deux les predictions des Astrologues; et l'un d'eux, de s'être persuadé qu'un homme qui vomissoit diverses liqueurs, le faisoit par le moyen de la Magie. "Le Cardinal de Richelieu," dit Vittorio Siri, *Mem. Rec. T. viii. p. 669.* "consultoit outre l'Astrologie, toute  
 "sorte de divinations, jusqu'à des femelettes; dont la  
 "science consiste en des vapeurs de Mere, qui leur font  
 "predire par hazard quelque événement fortuit. Il étoit  
 "si credule qu'il attribuoit à l'operation du Démon l'art  
 "de jetter par la bouche toutes sortes de liqueurs, après  
 "avoir bû de l'eau, comme le faisoit un Charlatan Italien.  
 "Mazarin n'étant pas encore Cardinal, ayant éclaté de  
 "rire à un discours si simple, pensa perdre sa faveur par  
 "là; et le Cardinal irrité de cet éclat de rire, par le-  
 "quel il jugea que Mazarin se moquoit de lui, lui dit iro-  
 "nequement, qu'il n'étoit pas Monsieur Mazarin qui a-  
 "voit une profonde étude et une exacte connoissance de  
 "tout. Mazarin repliqua tout soumis, qu'en donnant  
 "cinquante pistoles, que le Charlatan demandoit pour  
 "enseigner son secret, on verroit si l'operation du Dé-  
 "mon s'en méloit. Mazarin regardoit toutes les divina-  
 "tions, comme des sottises, excepté l'Astrologie, dont il  
 "étoit fort entêté, quoiqu'il feignît le contraire. Lorsque  
 "Madame Mancini sa sœur mourut, et ensuite la Du-  
 "chesse de Mercœur sa Niece, comme il eut rû par-là  
 "accomplie la prediction, qu'un Astrologue en avoit faite  
 "à Rome, par écrit longtems auparavant, il en devint  
 "extraordinairement triste et mélancholique; non par  
 "tendresse pour ses parens, mais parceque ce même A-  
 "strologue avoit fixé le tems de sa mort à un terme qui  
 "s'approchoit. Il en perdit l'appetit, et demeura plu-  
 "sieurs nuits sans dormir."

*On sait aussi que l'Empereur Julien, qui n'avoit pu ajouter foi aux prophetes de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, étoit excessivement addonné aux augures, et aux présages que l'on tiroit des entrailles des victimes, et les Payens mêmes l'en ont repris. Voiez Ammien Marcellin, l. xxv. c. 5.*

*Je pose en fait que ces sortes de choses sont aussi difficiles à croire si on les considère en elles-mêmes, que les mysteres et les miracles de la Religion Chrétienne. Mais les Incrédulés y ajoutent foi, pendant qu'ils refusent de croire à l'Evangile; parce que ces sortes d'opinions n'ont aucun rapport avec la conduite de la vie, et ne sont nullement incompatibles, comme la Morale Chrétienne, avec leurs mauvaises habitudes. Le Clerc De L'Incrédulité, Part I. ch. i. p. 32.*

It is a question of importance, whether there has ever been in the Pagan world such a thing as *divination*, or a foreknowledge of things. The strongest argument against it is contained in Isaiah (ch. xli.) where Almighty God foretelling many great events, particularly the raising up of Cyrus to destroy the Babylonian monarchy, and to deliver the Jews from captivity, declares that he alone can discover such things, and appeals to these predictions, as to proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no God besides him. *Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and shew us what shall happen: let them shew the former things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed and behold it together.*

together. Behold ye are of nothing, &c. And again : I have declared the former things from the beginning ; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them ; I did them suddenly, and they came to pass. Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass : I have even from the beginning declared it to thee : before it came to pass I shewed it thee ; lest thou shouldst say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my molten image hath commanded them, &c. xlviii. and more to the same purpose. Hence it has been concluded that there never was such a thing as fore-knowledge in the Pagan world, a conclusion too large and absolute to be inferred from the premisses.

*Hinc possunt egregie confutari, qui putant frequentissime apud Ethnicos futura a Cacodæmonibus prænunciata ; quod hic a nemine, nisi a se, fieri posse statuat Deus. Pleraque omnia illa oracula, quæ leguntur apud veteres Græcos, aut numquam sunt edita, aut ab hominibus pronunciata, ut viri docti satis ostenderunt, et præsertim vir eruditus Antonius Van Dale. Sæpius hic repititur provocatio Dei, ne leuiter res prætereant, sed altius in animum descendat, præsertim idololatrarum Judæorum. —Imo vero, dixissent Græci, multa habemus oracula— Sed Propheta reposuisset meras fraudes fuisse hominum, qui aut ambiguis responsis consultores eludebant, vel conjecturâ de rebus futuris temere judicabant, quam postea arguebat eventus. Sic certe credidisset Cacodæmones ipsos fudisse oracula, aliter plane locutus esset, cum sciret homines ab ejusmodi malis spiritibus non difficulter potuisse falli, nec plebeculam eorum responsa a responsis ipsius Dei satis posse discernere.—Non ita loquerentur qui fidem habent historiis Ethnicorum de ostentis et prodigiis, quæ potentiâ Cacodæmonum vere contigisse volunt ; ex*



*eorum enim sententiâ magna et memorabilia fuissent malorum spirituum per totum terrarum orbem opera. Sed Prophetæ longe malumus credere, quam ejusmodi hominibus.*—Clericus *ad* Isaiam. To whose remarks we might add, that the scriptures, though they seem in many places to allow that evil spirits may work miracles, yet no where suppose or intimate, that they can predict the future actions of men, except perhaps in *Acts* xvi. 16. and there it is not necessary that such prophecy should be meant. In *Deut.* xiii. it is said, *If there arise amongst you a prophet, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder,—saying, Let us go after other gods,—that prophet shall be put to death.* But this seems not so much intended to declare that such false prophets should be able to shew signs and work miracles, as to secure the people against idolatry; and therefore God says, If a man endeavours to seduce you to idolatry, put him to death, even though he should give you signs and wonders. Besides, the sign, whether real or pretended, might be rather of the miraculous than of the prophetic kind, and it could not be the prediction of a remote event, because that would not serve an impostor's purpose. The same remark may be applied to the *false prophets* in *Mat.* xxiv *μᾶται*, and *γόνις*, who should shew signs and wonders, but whose predictions and promises should be confuted by the event.

Prophecies, in one respect, seem to carry with them surer marks of proceeding from God than miracles: for spirits, good or evil, may, by their own natural strength, and without God's immediate assistance, perform things surpassing human abilities (which to men are miracles) unless God restrain them; but it seems altogether beyond the power of a created, finite, limited being to look into futurity, and to foresee the actions



actions and behaviour of free agents, who as yet are unborn ; this is an act, which probably implies a power equal to creation and preservation, and to upholding the universal system, and therefore prophecy must be the gift of God ; and an angel, or an evil dæmon, if he foretells such remote events, must be inspired himself, or must get his knowledge from divine prophecies ; or else what he delivers must be by a conjectural skill, in which he may perhaps sometimes, in some general things, aim right, and be able to form a better guess and judgment than mortal men, having larger views and longer experience. If he should have skill to foretell inclement seasons, droughts, tempests, inundations, pestilences, earthquakes, famines, fertility of the earth, plentiful harvests, &c. yet to know what good and evil shall befall the unborn grand-children of *Caius* and *Titius*, how they shall behave themselves, and how they shall spend their days, lies in all probability far beyond the sagacity of any creature.

In the book of *Tobit*, the angel Raphael says to Tobias, *Fear not, for she [Sarah] is appointed unto thee from the beginning, and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee : moreover I suppose that shee shall bear thee children*, vi. 17. Here is an angel's conjecture, which was fulfilled, as the writer takes care to inform us, xiv. 12.

Whosoever he was who wrote the history of *Tobit*, his design seems to have been to draw the character of a pious and worthy man, who on account of his piety fell into great distress, and who, after having borne many calamities with resignation and constancy, was restored to prosperity, and led a long and happy life. He had a wife, pious and virtuous like himself, but once or twice a little too querulous, and a son, who

was an amiable youth, and a dutiful child to his parents. Angels good and evil are introduced \*, with a sufficient quantity of the marvellous †. The name itself of *Tobit* seems to be feigned, for *Tób* in Hebrew means *bonus*. There are also other feigned names in this drama, concerning which see *Grotius*. Lastly, both the heroes of the story are very long lived; the father lived 158, and the son 127 years. All this has the air of a pious fiction, and the author seems to have proposed to himself to imitate the book of *Job*.

Virgil makes the harpy say, *Æn.* iii. 251.

*Quæ Phæbo Pater omnipotens, mihi Phæbus Apollo  
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

Where Servius remarks, *Notandum Apollinem, quæ dicit, ab Jove cognoscere.* Æschylus *Ἰερ.*

——ταῦτα γὰρ παλῶς

Ζεὺς ἐγκαθίει Λοξία θεοπίσμαλα.

——hæc namque pater

*Jupiter immittit Appollini oracula.*

And :

Πατρὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας Διός.

*Apollo patris Jovis est propheta.*

*Apollo*, says *Suidas*, is *Jupiter's* prophet, and delivers to men the oracles which he receives from him. ὁ Ἄ. πολλῶν ὑποφῆτης ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνει τὰς μαντείας, ἧ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκφέρει.

In

\* The Jews believed seven principal angels, *Zeck.* iv. 10. *Rev.* i. 4. v. 6. viii. 2. One may suppose, from the number, that they were thought to preside over the planets. *Tobit* xii. 15.

† Les Juifs ont débité un si grand nombre de fables, que leur histoire, depuis le tems des derniers des Historiens sacrez, n'est guere plus raisonnable que les plus fabuleuses histoires du Paganisme. Au moins il est certain qu'étant mieux instruits que les Payens, ils sont beaucoup plus blâmables d'avoir inventé tant de mensonges. *Le Clerc.* Bibl. Chois. iii. 166.

In the *Hymn* to *Apollo*, the god says concerning himself, 132.

Χρήσω τ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερλέα βουλὴν.

*Oraculoque edam hominibus Jovis verum consilium.*

And in our learned poet, the Almighty is introduced saying to the arch-angel Michael,

—————*reveal*

*To Adam what shall come in future days,*

*As I shall thee enlighten.*

To prophecy is to be adjoined a knowledge of the secret intentions of men. It seems to be beyond the abilities of any created being to know the thoughts of a man, particularly of a man who is agitated by no passion, and gives no indications of his mind by any outward sign. This is ascribed to God, as his peculiar perfection, in many places of Scripture, and it is said, that he is *a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts, &c.* This knowledge God often imparted to the prophets.

Cicero has treated the subject of *divination* in two books; in the first he alledges all that can be said for it, and in the second he argues against it. Whosoever will examine his reasons on both sides, may see, I think, that he has not overset all the proofs which he has offered for it. He observes, that all nations, civil and barbarous, always agreed in this, that there was such a thing as divination, or a foreknowledge of events, to be obtained by various indications, as by the stars, by portents and prodigies, by the entrails of victims, by omens, by lots, by forebodings, by consulting the dead, by oracles, by inspired persons, by dreams, &c. If there is such a thing as divination, said the Pagans, there must be a Deity from whom it proceeds,



proceeds, because man by his own natural powers cannot discover things to come ; and if there be a Deity, there is probably divination, since it is not a conduct unworthy of the Deity to take notice of mortal men, and of their affairs, and on some occasions to advise and instruct them. Thus the Pagans argued, and accordingly, for the most part, they who believed a God and a providence, believed divination, they who were atheists denied it, and they who were sceptics decided nothing about it.

Divination was a matter of fact, and to be proved like other facts, by evidence, testimony, and experience : and some philosophers rejecting all other kinds of divination, as dubious and fallacious, admitted two sorts, that by inspired persons, and that by dreams. In favour of the latter we have the authorities of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Cicero *de Divin.* i. 25.

*Atque dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam. Multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt, &c.* Cicero *de Senect.* 22. which is taken from Xenophon.

When Socrates was in prison, Crito went to pay him an early visit, and told him, he was informed by persons come from sea, that the ship from Delos would return to Athens that day, the consequence of which was, that Socrates would be put to death on the morrow. Be it so, said Socrates, if it please the gods : yet I think the ship will not be here to-day, but to-morrow. *Why so, dear friend?* Because this night a woman of a beautiful and majestic form, clothed in a white robe, appeared to me in a dream, and calling me by my name, said,

Ημᾶς κεν τριῖσ' ἄτ' ὀ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο.

*The*



*The third day shall land thee safe at fruitful Phthia.*

They are the words of Achilles in Homer, when he proposed to return home. Socrates took it for a prediction of his death, because he judged that to die was to go home to his own country. And his dream was accomplished. Plato's *Crito*. See Le Clerc on *Gen.* xii. 7. concerning revelations by dreams. Josephus has recorded a remarkable dream of Glaphyra, *Antiq.* xvii. 12. and *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7. But Noris, in his *Cenotaph. Pis.* and Le Clerc *Bibl. Chois.* iv. 60. observe that it cannot be true, that Archelaus married the widow of Juba; whence it follows, that this dream of Glaphyra, supposed to be widow of Juba, and wife of Archelaus, is either entirely, or partly false.

He who would see some modern accounts of dreams and prophecies, may consult Grotius, *Epist.* 405. *Part* ii. or Le Clerc *Bibl. Univ.* T. i. p. 152. and La Mothe le Vayer, *Problemes Sceptiques* xxviii. and the life of Usher by Parr, and the visions of a strange fellow called Rice Evans, and Bayle's *Dict. Majus*, not. [D.] *Maldonat*, not. [G.] where he says of prophetic dreams, *De tels faits, dont l'univers est tout plein, embarrassent plus les Esprits forts qu'ils ne le témoignent.*

As the reader may not have the books to which I have referred, it may save him some trouble, and give him some satisfaction or amusement to peruse what follows: *Quidam ad Landresium, in operibus, proximè oppidum cubans, somnio monitus ut cuniculum hostis caveret, surrexit. Vix egressus erat, prorumpit vis tecta, locumque disjicit. At Salmasium si videris, historiam tibi referet, patre suo auctore. Ad eum venit quidam Græcæ lingue plane ignarus. Is in somnio voces Græcas has audierat; ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ὀσφραίνῃ τὴν σὴν ἀλυσίαν; experrectusque Gallicis literis sonum earum vocum perscripserat.*

*Cum*

*Cum ejus nihil intelligeret, rogatus Senator Salmasius ei verba interpretatur, est enim filii doctissimi doctus pater. Migrat homo ex cædibus. Ecce nocte sequente corruunt. Hoc his adjice quæ Cicero, Tertullianus aliique ex omnium gentium historiis de somniis collegere. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἓναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν, interdum, contra quàm censent Peripatetici. Grotius, p. 870.*

Le Clerc, where he gives an account of this passage, tells us, that Salmasius the father was *Conseiller au Parlement de Dijon*.

La Mothe le Vayer seems to relate the same story that Grotius had from Salmasius, but with some difference. *Un Conseiller du Parlement de Dijon nommé Carré, ouït en dormant qu'on lui disoit ces mots Grecs, qu'il n'entendoit nullement, ἀπιθι, ἐν αἰσθάνῃ τὴν σὲ ἀτυχίαν. Ils luy furent interpretez, abi, non sentis infortunium tuum; et comme la maison qui'il habitoit menaçoit de ruine, il la quitta fort à propos, pour éviter sa cheute qui arriva aussi-tôt après.* La Mothe probably took his account from common rumour, when the story had undergone some alteration in passing from one to another. Ἀτυχίαν would be a more eligible word than ἀψυχίαν, if we were at liberty to chuse; but we must take it as Salmasius gives it, and not alter the language of *Monsieur Le Songe*.

As to the oracles which were uttered in Pagan temples, if we consider how many motives both of private gain, and of national politics might have contributed to support them, and what many of the Pagans have said against them, and what obscure and shuffling answers they commonly contained, and into what scorn and neglect they fell at last, we must needs have a contemptible opinion of them in general; we cannot fix upon any oracles on which we can depend,

as upon prophecies which were pronounced and fulfilled ; and if there were any such, which on the other hand we cannot absolutely deny and disprove, they are irretrievably lost and buried under the rubbish of the false, ambiguous, and trifling responses which history has preserved ; and those which have a plausible appearance, lie under the suspicion of having been composed after the event. Some of them were in such doggrel verse, that they cast a grievous reproach upon the god of poetry, from whom they were supposed to proceed, and betrayed the poor capacity of the laureate poet.

In the class of knaves and liars must be placed the generality of soothsayers, magicians, and they who made a craft and a livelihood of predicting, and drew up the art into a system. Setting aside these sorts of divination, as extremely suspicious, there remain predictions by dreams, and by sudden impulses upon persons who were not of the fraternity of impostors ; these were allowed to be sometimes preternatural by many of the learned Pagans, and cannot, I think, be disproved, and should not be totally rejected. If it be asked whether these dreams and impulses were caused by the immediate inspiration of God, or by the mediation of good or of evil spirits, we must confess our own ignorance and incapacity to resolve the question. There is a history in the Acts of the Apostles, which seems to determine the point in favour of divination. *A certain damsel, says St Luke, possessed with a spirit of divination, met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying : the same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the Most High God, which shew unto us the way of salvation. And this did she many days : But Paul being grieved,*  
*turned*



*turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour.* Thus the divine providence so ordered it, that this occurrence should turn greatly to the honour and advancement of Christianity. But this prophetess might be in repute for discovering lost or stolen goods, or for revealing what happened in distant places, or for predicting changes of weather, or for many things of a like nature, and might not be able to foretell the future actions of men.

As to Isaias, we may infer with Vitringa, from his words, that God was determined so to conduct the great revolutions which were to be brought about in the world, and so to order the things relating to the victories of Cyrus, and to the fall of Babylon, that his predictions should be accomplished, and that the Chaldeans and other Pagan prophets should be filled with the spirit of error and of ignorance. *I am the Lord—that frustrateth the tokens of liars, and maketh diviners mad.* And again he declares that the idols of Babylon should be destroyed, and their false gods not able to defend themselves. So that the declarations in Isaias may be supposed to relate to the predictions made by Isaias and by other prophets, in which their superiority over the diviners should manifestly appear, to the confusion of their Pagan neighbours. This, I say, follows, but not that, where there was no competition between the God of Israel, and the Pagan deities, no such thing as divination should ever be found in any age, and in any part of the Gentile world.

It may be said that, in all probability, God will not endue bad angels with the spirit of prophecy, or permit them to reveal things to come. It is probable indeed he will never do it, where there is a competition  
between



between true religion and idolatry, and when it would make men worse than they would else be. But it appears from the scriptures, that the prophetic *afflatus* has sometimes inspired bad men ; and we cannot be certain that God may not bring about some of the designs of providence even by evil spirits, by unworthy creatures, and immoral agents ; much less can we be certain that good angels were never employed, as ministering spirits among the Pagans. Milton treats this subject in his *Paradise Regained*, i. 446. and makes Christ say to Satan ;

—*Whence hast thou then thy truth,  
But from him [God] or his angels president  
In every province, who themselves disdaining  
T' approach thy temples, give thee in command  
What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say  
To thy adorers ?*

It may be said also that divination among the Pagans helped, indirectly at least, to support idolatry and Paganism. Socrates, and Plato, and Xenophon, and other worthy men, believed divination by dreams and impulses ; and this opinion had a tendency to confirm them in their religion, that is, in the belief of a supreme God, and of inferior gods, and good dæmons. It may be so ; but the divine providence seems hitherto never to have intended that Judaism, or afterwards Christianity, should be the religion of all mankind, since neither of these religions were ever fairly proposed to all mankind. Divination, or the opinion of it, contributed to keep up Paganism in Pagan nations ; it contributed also to keep out Atheism ; and there is a sort of Paganism which, such as it is, is far better than Atheism, with Bayle's leave be it said, who was pleased to affirm the contrary, and who, whatsoever

whatsoever was his design, has highly obliged all Atheists and infidels, by many arguments and remarks scattered up and down in his writings. Bayle was not the inventor of this hypothesis, though he adorned and improved it. Lucretius and other *Esprits Forts* had maintained it :

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

Lucretius i. 81.

*Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis*

*Impia te rationis inire elementa, viamque*

*Endogredi sceleris : quod contra scepius olim*

*Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*

There may have been modes of idolatry which were worse than Atheism, and which indeed, strictly speaking, were a kind of Atheism, as Bayle and others have truly observed ; there may have been Atheists in the Pagan world, who were better citizens, and honester people than many of their superstitious countrymen ; and some Epicureans, as to personal qualities, might be preferable to some Peripatetics and Stoics. Atheism in idolatrous nations, and in former ages, was not altogether so great a depravity as it is now, since natural religion has received so much friendly aid from natural philosophy, and from the excellent Newtonian system, and has been so well illustrated and confirmed by many skilful writers. Deism likewise is not so bad in places where Christianity is clouded and defaced by superstition, as it is in countries where revealed religion is free from such gross errors and defects. There have been several idolaters, Jews, Mahometans, and Christians, several reverend inquisitors, *compellers to come in*, propagators of the faith, by sword, halter, and faggot, who have been viler persons than several Atheists ; and religion may be corrupted to such a degree,

gree, as to be worse than unbelief; but if a man will needs draw the comparison between Atheism and idolatry, it is not fair to take the worst kind of superstition, and the most ignorant, flagitious, and infamous Pagans who were infected with it, and oppose to them the better sort of Atheists, ancient and modern, who lived reputably, and tell us that Epicurus, and Cassius, and Atticus, and Pliny, and Spinoza were more to be esteemed than many believing Pagans, or perhaps Christians.

We must consider Paganism in the whole, as it has been from the time when it began, to this day, in all ages, and in all places; and the question is, whether, if all these Pagans had been Atheists, it had been better for civil society in general, or no. On this question most of those who are not Atheists, I presume, will chuse the negative; and of the Atheists, all will not take the affirmative; for there have been Atheists, who have thought that infidelity was only fit for polite gentlemen, and that religion was of use amongst the vulgar, and a good state-engine. The remark therefore of this author is rather lively than pertinent, that *he is not a greater madman who pays adoration to no being, than he who should devoutly worship his dog, his hat, or his breeches.*

Homer has described to us a republic, if we may call it so, of a sort of Atheists, or despisers of the gods. Polyphemus says to Ulysses\*, *Stranger, thou art a fool, or thou comest from a far country, to talk to me of the gods: we are superior to them, and value them not.*

\* Νήπιος εἷς, ὦ ξείν', ἢ τηλόθεν εἰλήλαθας,

Ὅς με θεοὺς κέλειαι ἢ δεῖδμεν, ἢ ἀλίσσασθαι.



*not.* The *Cyclopes*, says Homer, have no religion, no magistrates, no assemblies, no laws, no industry, no arts and sciences, no civility, no respect for one another; but each Cyclops, in his den, rules over his wife and children as he thinks fit, and eats all the stragglers that fall into his hands. An excellent image of Atheistical polity! *Odys.* I. 273.

Bayle had confirmed himself in an opinion that the Pagans worshipped a rabble of coëqual, imperfect, vicious gods; not considering how much the doctrine of one supreme and of many inferior gods prevailed; and for this reason he is the more excusable when he prefers Atheism to such Idolatry.

As to the grace of God, says Bayle, the Pagans and the Atheists are equally destitute of it; and none have it besides the regenerate, who cannot lose it, and who are predestinated to life eternal. Who taught him all this? Not the Scriptures \*, from which he could not prove it; not the ancient Fathers, who were generally of a contrary opinion, and entertained favourable sentiments of the wiser Pagans; not human reason, which, according to him, was only a *Jack-a-lantern*, leading those who followed it into bogs and ditches; not the Synod of Dort, and some modern Supralapsarians, whom he despised in his heart. He only threw out this as an *Argumentum ad hominem*; and he uses the same sort of argument, when he tells us with a serious face that Epiphanius, Jerom, and other doctors of divinity, ancient and modern, have declared *heresy* to be worse than *atheism*: As if there were any absurdity, that some doctor, as well as some philosopher, has not maintained! Jerom's learning and abilities deserve

\* See *The Imperfect Promulgation of the Gospel considered*, in a very good sermon by Bishop Bradford.



serve to be honoured, but his impetuous temper is no secret to those who have looked into his writings. When he was warmed with disputing, he would call,

*Hunc Furiam, hunc aliud, jussit quod splendida bilis.*

There have been Pagans, who have believed in one God, great and good, and in inferior deities deriving their powers and perfections from the Father of gods and men, themselves good and beneficent, and guilty of none of those vices and follies which poetical and fabulous history ascribed to them; they have also perhaps believed that there were malevolent dæmons, who were sometimes permitted to do mischief, but who were subject to the power and controul of the Deity; and certainly such a religion (though accompanied with some degree of superstition) together with a belief of the *honestum* and the *turpe*, and with a tolerable system of morality, and with some conjectural hopes of a life after this, is far preferable to atheism, to the doctrine that a God, and a providence, and another state, are

*Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,*

*Et par sollicito fabula somnio.*

I pretend not to deny that some atheists of old had notions of the *honestum* and the *turpe*, and might act suitably to them: yet surely they had not so many motives to virtue, as the Pagans of whom I am now speaking.

But, says Bayle, if you had examined these Pagans, and reasoned with them concerning the supreme God, you would have found that they entertained some notions, the consequences of which were absurd, and would have destroyed the fair idea. And is not that the case of some Jews and Christians? Men must not be charged with all the consequences, which may per-

haps regularly follow from their notions, whilst they neither draw them, nor perceive them, nor own them.

Which system is best, that of Socrates, or that of Epicurus? that of the Platonics, or Stoics, or that of Hobbes, of Spinoza\*, and perhaps of Bayle, who too often made a bad use of his great abilities, and who taught that a man could not believe that God was good and wise, and that Christianity was true, without sacrificing *reason to faith*, or, in plain English, without renouncing common sense?

This ingenious and unaccountable author had frequent quarrels with *reason*, which at last ran so high, that he gave her a bill of divorce, and turned her out of doors, with, *Res tuas tibi habeto*. And yet, when he had discarded her, he would reason against her. That is,

*Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te :*

An absurdity, which sticks, like the shirt of Hercules, to all those, of all denominations, who argue against *reason*, as against a false and fallacious guide. To rail at her, and call her names, though it be not so genteel, yet is rather

\* Spinoza has endeavoured to shew, that there can be no such thing as liberty, and that there is no God. But how? by a system of jargon, adorned at proper distances with Q. E. D. Great is the force of *initial letters*! Yet has this absurd and cloudy philosopher found admirers and disciples, who have followed him, as they say the *tiger* follows the *rhinoceros*, to eat his excrements. Spinoza held a *plenum*, which was necessary for his purpose. If there be a *vacuum*, Spinoza's god, or the material world, is a limited, imperfect substance, and depends on some cause. Absolute *perfection* neither requires, nor admits a cause, or an antecedent reason; but of *limitation* and *imperfection* there must be some cause. Spinoza would have owned this consequence from the admission of a *vacuum*, for he says, that what is necessarily existing, must be infinite. He should therefore have proved the existence of a *plenum*: *Quod Erat Demonstrandum*. The doctrine of a *vacuum* is the sponge of all Atheistical systems.

rather less ridiculous, for she will never furnish arms against herself. But these persons are usually as fond of their notions as Job was of his integrity ; they *hold them fast, and will not let them go* : and who would dispute with those, who, upon their own principles, must neither give nor take a reason ?

*M. Bayle a prétendu prouver qu'il valoit mieux être Athée qu'Idolâtre ; c'est à dire en d'autres termes, qu'il est moins dangereux de n'avoir point de tout de religion, que d'en avoir une mauvaise. —*

*Dire que la Religion n'est pas un motif réprimant, parce qu'elle ne réprime pas toujours, c'est dire que les Loix civiles ne sont pas un motif réprimant non plus. C'est mal raisonner contre la Religion de rassembler dans un grand Ouvrage une longue énumération des maux qu'elle a produits, si l'on ne fait de même celle des biens qu'elle a faits. Si je voulois raconter tous les maux qu'ont produit dans le monde les Loix civiles, la Monarchie, le Gouvernement Républicain, je dirois des choses effroyables. Quand il seroit inutile que les sujets eussent une religion, il ne le seroit pas que les Princes en eussent, et qu'ils blanchissent d'écume le seul frein, que ceux qui ne craignent pas les Loix humaines, puissent avoir. —*

*La question n'est pas de sçavoir, s'il vaudroit mieux qu'un certain homme ou qu'un certain peuple n'eut point de religion, que d'abuser de celle qu'il a ; mais de sçavoir quel est le moindre mal, que l'on abuse quelquefois de la religion, ou qu'il n'y en aît point du-tout parmi les hommes.*

*Pour diminuer l'horreur de l'Athéisme on charge trop l'Idolatrie. —*

*Il convient que (dans le gouvernement Despotique) il y ait quelque Livre sacré qui serve de règle. — Le Code Religieux supplée au Code Civil, et fixe l'arbitraire.*



*Le Roi de Perse est le Chef de la Religion, mais l'Alcoran règle la Religion : l'Empéreur de la Chine est le Souverain Pontife, mais il y a des Livres qui sont entre les mains de tout le monde, auxquels il y doit lui-même se conformer. En vain un Empéreur voulut-il les abolir ; ils triomphèrent de la tyrannie. L'Esprit des Lois, l. xxiv. ch. 2. l. xii. ch. 29. l. xxv. ch. 8.*

*Je ne suis pas du sentiment (de M. Bayle) que l'Atheisme soit préférable à l'Idolatrie Payenne, en tout sens. Pour répondre à la question, il faudroit, ce me semble, premierement distinguer des societez, les opinions considérées d'une maniere abstraite, et faire d'un coté la description de l'Atheisme, et de l'autre celle de l'Idolatrie. L'on trouveroit peut-être qu'il y a telle Idolatrie qui seroit préférable à l'Atheisme, et telle autre qui seroit pire. Ainsi, je ne puis répondre ni oui, ni non, à la question générale de M. Bayle. En second lieu, quand il s'agiroit de considerer, non les opinions en general, mais les Societez en elles mêmes, qui feroient profession de l'Idolatrie Payenne, ou de l'Atheisme ; il faudroit encore faire de grandes distinctions, & diviser la question en plusieurs propositions, selon les differens cas que l'on poseroit, et auxquels on répondroit négativement, ou affirmativement, suivant leur diversité. Je n'ai ni le loisir, ni la volonté de m'appliquer à cette sorte de recherche, et je n'en aurois même rien dit, si M. Bayle ne m'avoit fait l'honneur, de me citer, entre ceux, quil croit être de son sentiment, dans l'Article lxxvii. de la Continuation des pensées diverses sur les Cometes. Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. V. 302.*

*Si ce qu'on nous dit des opinions, des loix, & des mœurs des sujets des Yncas est vrai, il n'y a point eu d'Empire Idolatre dans les autres parties du monde, sans en excepter ceux des nations les plus polies et les plus savantes, où il y ait eu*



*eu de si bonnes loix, et ou elles aient été si bien observées. La religion, qui consistoit principalement à adorer et à sacrifier au Soleil—non des victimes humaines—mais des bêtes et d'autres choses, a été la moins gâtée, qu'il y ait eu parmi les Idolâtres. Outre le Soleil, ils disoient qu'il y avoit une autre Divinité.—Ils parloient de ce Dieu, comme d'un être invisible, dont la nature leur étoit inconnue, et qui avoit créé le Soleil même et les étoiles. Ils croyoient aussi l'immortalité de l'ame, et avoient même une idée confuse de la résurrection, à ce que dit Garcilasso de la Vega.—Supposé que ce qu'il dit soit véritable, on peut dire qu'une Société Idolâtre comme celle-là, étoit incomparablement meilleure que ne le seroit une société d'Athées.—Ceux qui n'ont pas encore lu cette histoire seront charmez de l'excellente police des Peruciens, de la charité qu'ils avoient pour les pauvres, les veuves & les orphelins, et de l'innocence de leurs mœurs, à les considerer comme des peuples destituez des lumieres de la Revelation. Il y aura même bien des gens, qui seront plus édifiez des Vertus Morales des Americains, destituez des lumieres du Ciel, que des Vertus Theologiques des Espagnols, qui sont, comme ils le croient, les meilleurs Chrétiens du monde.—Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. V. p. 380.*

Bayle, after having shewed us the worst side of Paganism, proceeds to insult Christianity, and to tell us that a nation consisting of true Christians must soon perish, and could not maintain itself against its irreligious neighbours, which doctrine is also retailed in that flagitious and detestable book called *The Fable of the Bees*. And how does this appear? Is it because Christianity makes a man a poltroon? He does not pretend to say that: but because, according to the gospel, self-defence is unlawful, stratagems in war are crimes, merchandizing is wickedness, and riches and

honours are prohibited. They who talk thus shew that they understand not, or will not understand either the strong and figurative style of the scriptures, or the rational methods of interpreting them; or the true nature of virtues and vices.

If this author proposed to himself to acquire the applause of free-thinkers, he had his reward: but when Phocion had made a speech which was applauded by the populace, he asked, Have I not said some foolish thing?

To return to divination, it appears from the Scriptures that some good and great men, when they were taking leave of the world, and blessing their children, or their nation, were enlightened with a prophetic spirit. Homer makes his heroes, as Patroclus and Hector, prophesy at the time of their death; and Cicero introduces his brother thus arguing in behalf of divination: *Epicurum ergo antepones Platoni & Socrati? qui ut rationem non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent. Jubet igitur Plato, sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus affectis, ut nihil sit, quod errorem animis perturbationemque afferat.—Quum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate, et a contagione corporis, tum meminit prceteritorum, præsentia cernit, futura prævidet: jacet enim corpus—viget animus: quod multo magis faciet post mortem—itaque appropinquante morte multo est divinior.—Divinare autem morientes, etiam illo exemplo confirmat Posidonius—Idque facilius eveniet appropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur. Ex quo et illud est Calani, de quo ante dixi, et Homerici Hectoris, qui moriens propinquam Achilli mortem denuntiat. De Divin. i. 30.*

The Pagans had also an opinion that the good wishes and the imprecations of parents were often fulfilled,  
and

and had in them a kind of divination. Read the story of Phœnix in Homer, *Il.* I. 445, &c. And Plato says that every wise person revered and esteemed the prayers of his parents, knowing that they were very frequently accomplished. Πᾶς δὴ τῶν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ γονέων εὐχάς, εἰδὼς πολλοῖς ἢ πολλαῖς ἐπίτελεῖς γενομένας. *De Leg.* xi. p. 931. Consult the place, and compare it with the case of Esau, in *Gen.* xxvii.

Eusebius has treated the subject of Oracles in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, L. iv. v. vi. He produces such arguments as tend to shew that it was all human fraud, and, amongst other things, he informs us, that many Pagan priests and prophets, who (under Constantine, I suppose) had been taken up, and tried, and tortured, had confessed that the oracles were impostures, and had laid open the whole contrivance, and that their confessions stood upon record, and that these were not obscure wretches, but philosophers and magistrates, who had enriched themselves by persecuting and plundering the Christians. So Theodoret tells us, that in demolishing the temples at Alexandria, the Christians found hollow statues fixed to the walls, into which the priests used to enter, and thence deliver oracles, v. 22. Eusebius adds, that the Peripatetics, Cynics, and Epicureans were of opinion that such predictions were all artifice and knavery. He then produces the arguments of Diogenianus against Divination. But Eusebius, as also all the ancient Christians, was of opinion, that with these human frauds there might have been sometimes a mixture of dæmoniacal tricks. *Pr. Ev.* vii. 16. He then argues against the oracles from the concessions and the writings of Pagans. He shews from Porphyry, that, according to that philosopher's own principles, and according to the



the reasonings of other Pagans, the gods who delivered oracles must have been evil dæmons. He proves the same thing from human sacrifices, and produces Porphyry's testimony and opinion that the Pagans worshipped evil dæmons, the chief of whom were *Serapis* and *Hecate*. He proves the same from Plutarch, and he gives a collection made by Oenomaus of wicked, false, trifling, ambiguous oracles.

The old Oracles often begin with 'Αλλ' ὅταν, *But when*, which is an odd setting out. Thus in Herodotus,

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος—i. 55.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφῳ—iii. 57.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡ Θήλεια—vi. 77.

'Αλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος—viii. 77.

In the *Oracula Vetera*,

'Αλλ' οἱ μὲν καθύπερθε—

'Αλλὰ τέλει ζόανον—

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν σκίπτουσιν—

'Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ νύμφαι—

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν Τιθορεὺς—

'Αλλ' ὅταν οἰκήσωσι—

In imitation of which style, we find in the Sibylline oracles, and in the beginning of a sentence,

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν μεγάλοι Θεοὶ—

And so in many places of that collection, which I shall not transcribe.

Hence Aristophanes, in banter, I suppose, of the predictions in Herodotus, makes a pompous and ridiculous oracle, and uses the same foolish introduction, to persuade a sausage-monger to set up for a demagogue and a ruler. The oracle is in heroic verse, and runs thus: *Equit.* 197.

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν μάρψῃ βυρσαῖός τις ἀγκυλοχείλης

Γαμφήλῃσι δράκοντα κοάλεμον, αἰμαλοπώτην,



Νῆ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκοροδάλημη.  
 Κοιμισπώλησιν δὲ Θεὸς μέγα κῦδος ὀπάζει,  
 Αἶκεν μὴ πωλεῖν ἀλλαντίας μᾶλλον ἑλώνῃαι.

*But when the Tanner-Eagle with a crooked beak shall seize the stupid blood-drinking dragon, then the Paphlagonian pickle shall perish; and the Deity shall advance the sausage-mongers to the highest honours, if they will but leave off their trade, and sell no more puddings.*

Lucian also, *De Morte Peregrini*, gives us two oracles made upon the death of that knave, who burnt himself publicly, the one by a seeming friend, the other by a foe.

The first was ascribed to the *Sibyl*, who was the *Mother Shipton* of the Ancients :

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν Πρωτεύς Κυνικῶν ὅχ' ἄριστος ἀπάντων  
 Ζηνὸς ἐριγδύπνι τέμενος κατὰ πύρ ἀνακαύσας  
 Ἐς φλόγα πηδύσας ἔλθῃ εἰς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
 Δὴ τότε πάντας ὁμῶς οἱ ἀνθρώποι καρπὸν ἔδουσι,  
 Νυκλιπόλον τιμᾶν κέλεμαι Ἡρώα μέγιστον,  
 Σύνθρονον Ἡφαίστω καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνακτῇ.

*But when Proteus, the chief of the Cynics, leaping into the flames, near the temple of Jupiter, shall ascend up to Olympus, then let all mortals with one consent adore the nocturnal hero, and rank him with Vulcan and Hercules.*

The second was fathered upon *Bacis*, the *Nostrodamus* of his times :

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν Κυνικὸς πολυώνυμος ἐς φλόγα πολλὴν  
 Πηδύσῃ δόξης ὑπ' ἐρινυῖ θυμὸν ὀρνεύεις,  
 Δὴ τότε τὺς ἄλλους κυναλώπτεας, οἳ οἱ ἔπονται  
 Μιμῆσθαι χρὴ νότμον ἀποικορμένοιο λύκοιο.  
 Ὃς δὲ κε δειλὸς ἔων, φεύγει μένος Ἡφαίστοιο,  
 Λάεσσιν βαλέειν τῷτον τάχα πάντας Ἀχαιῆς,  
 Ως μὴ ψυχρὸς ἔων, θερμηγορέειν ἐπιχειρεῖ;

Χρυσῷ σαζάμενος πῆρην, μάλα πολλὰ δανείζων,  
 Ἐν καλαῖς Πατραισιν ἔχων τρεῖς πέντε τάλαντα.

*But when the Cynic, who has more names than one, incited by the Furies, and by the mad love of vain-glory, shall jump into the flames, then let all the dog-foxes, his trusty disciples, follow the example of the departed wolf. And if any one of them shrink, and be afraid of the fire, let all the Greeks pelt him with stones, that he may no more shew his courage only by prating, and put gold into his satchel, and lend it out to interest, and add to the fifteen talents which he has hoarded up at Patræ.*

It is probable that Lucian made both these oracles, to divert himself and his readers, not forgetting the essential Ἄλλ' ὅταν. But Lucian's raillery could not put a stop to the superstition of the world ; for this Peregrinus, or Proteus, was deified, and had, at Parium, a statue erected, to which religious honours were paid, and which delivered oracles. See Athenagoras *Legat.*

The comedy of Aristophanes, cited above, abounds with ridicule upon the oracles, and shews the liberty which the wits in his days took to deride them, and to bring them into contempt.

If the writer *de Dea Syria* be in earnest, and sincere in his narration, as he seems to be, there were few Pagan temples and oracles more remarkable than that of Hierapolis in Syria, and from his account it may be inferred, that the priests of that temple had carried the arts of imposture to great perfection, and surpassed their ancient instructors the Egyptians, like the thief who stole a statue of Mercury, and told the god,

Πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείσσονες διδασκάλων.

The Egyptians, says this author, were the first who had knowledge of the gods, and built them temples, &c. and from them the Assyrians learned these things.

Herodotus

Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say the same. Lucian. de Dea Syr. § 2.

Ἐνι δὲ—καὶ θεοὶ δὲ κάρσα αὐτοῖσι ἐμφανέες. ἰδρῶς γὰρ δὴ ὦν παρα-  
 (ρίσι τὰ ζόανα, καὶ κινέειαι καὶ χρησμηγορέει· καὶ βοή δὲ πολλάκις ἐγέ-  
 νετο ἐν τῷ νηῷ, κλεισθέντος τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν. *Sunt autem*  
*—præsentēs valde iis Dii. Sudant enim apud illos simu-*  
*lacrâ, et moventur, atque edunt oracula. Clamor etiam*  
*sæpe in cede multis exaudientibus ortus, cum clausum esset*  
*templum.*

They had a statue of Apollo, differing from the Grecian images of that god in two things, he was represented with a beard, and he was clothed; and he delivered his oracles thus :

Μανθίῃα πολλὰ μὲν παρ' Ἑλλήσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι.  
 τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇδε Ἀσίῃ πολλὰ ἐσι. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἕτε ἱεράων ἀνευ  
 ἕτε προφητέων φθέγγονται. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς τε κινέειαι, καὶ τὴν μανθίῃην ἐς τέλος  
 αὐτεργεῖ. τρόπος δὲ αὐτῆς τοιόσδε. εὐτ' ἂν ἐθέλῃσι χρησμηγορέειν, ἐν τῇ  
 ἔδρῃ πρῶτα κινέειαι. οἱ δὲ μιν ἱεεὺς αὐτίκα αἰέρουσι. ἢν δὲ μὴ αἰέρωσι, ὁ δὲ  
 ἰδρῶει, καὶ ἐς μέσον ἔτι κινέειαι. εὐτ' ἂν δὲ ὑποδύντες φέρωσι, ἄγει σφέας,  
 πάντῃ περιδινέων, καὶ ἐς ἄλλον ἐξ ἐτέρων μέλαπιδέων. τέλος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 ἀγιάσας, ἐπερέειλά μιν περὶ ἀπάντων προφημάτων· ὁ δὲ ἢν τι μὴ θέλῃ  
 ποιέεσθαι, ὀπίσω ἀναχωρεῖ. ἢν δέ τι ἐπαινέῃ, ἄγει ἐς τὸ πρῶτον τὰς  
 προσφέροντας, ὅκωσπερ ἡνιοχέων. ἔτω μὲν συναγείρωσι τὰ θέσφατα, καὶ  
 ἕτε ἱερὸν προῆγμα ἑδὲν, ἕτε ἰδίον τέτυκ ἀνευ ποικουσι. λέγει δὲ καὶ τῷ  
 ἑτέρῳ πᾶσι, καὶ τῶν ὁρέων αὐτῶν πασέων, καὶ ὁκότε ἐκ ἔσονταί. λέγει δὲ  
 καὶ τῷ Σημηθέϊ πᾶσι, κότε χρὴ μὲν διαδημέειν, τὴν εἶπον ἀποδημίην.  
 Ἐρέω δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ ἐμεῦ παρεόντος ἐπρήξε. οἱ μὲν μιν ἱεεὺς αἰέροντες  
 ἔφερον, ὁ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐν γῇ κίτῳ ἔλιπε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μῦθος ἐφο-  
 ρέετο. *Oracula apud Græcos multa, multa apud Ægyptios.*  
*Verum etiam in Libya et in Asia multa sunt. Sed*  
*alia non sine sacerdotibus vel prophetis respondent : at hic*  
*movetur ipse, et divinationem ad finem usque solus perdu-*  
*cit. Modus hic est. Cum vult reddere oraculum, in se-*  
*de primum sua movetur. Sacerdotes vero ipsum continuo*  
*tollunt.*



*tollunt. Si vero non tollant, ille sudat, et versus medium adhuc movetur. Cum vero subeuntes onus ipsum ferunt, agit illos usquequaque in orbem, et in alium ex alio transilit. Tandem obsistens sacerdotum princeps interrogat illum de rebus omnibus. Isque si nolit fieri, retrocedit; si vero probet, antrorsum agit suos bajulos, tanquam habenis auriga. Ita colligunt oracula, & neque rem sacram ullam neque privatam sine hoc faciunt. Prædicit etiam de anno omnibusque illius tempestatibus, et quando non futuræ sint: item prædicit de signo, quando eam, quam dicebam modo, profectionem suscipiat. Narrabo etiam aliud, quod, me præsentem, egit. Sacerdotes sublatum ferebant. At ipse illos humi reliquit, sublimis ipse solus ferebatur. Ib. § 36, 37.*

This author says here that he saw the image suspended and moving along in the air, upon which La Croze and Guetius observe that he is a liar\*. They did not consider that feats as surprising as this have been performed by machinery assisted with legerdemain; and that Christian monks, as well as Pagan priests, have been eminent in such arts. We are obliged to the writer for not omitting a remarkable circumstance, that the image was adorned with a fine robe; the cloak was not put on for nothing, and served in all probability to conceal some knavery.

The tricks of the Egyptian priests were not to be compared to this; their little gods, when they were carried in procession, did not sweat, like these statues, but only made the porter sweat:

—sic

\* Cicero mentions the old story of the wooden *lituus* of Romulus, which was not consumed in a fire, and treats it as a fable, *De Divin.* ii. 38. and yet it might possibly be true; for incombustible wood has been discovered.



———*sic numina Memphis*  
*In vulgus proferre solet : penetralibus exit*  
*Effigies ; brevis illa quidem : sed plurimus infra*  
*Limiger imposito suspirat vecte sacerdos,*  
*Testatus sudore Deum.*

Claudian iv. *Cons. Hon.* 569.

Observe that this statue did not speak, and that when the writer says λέγει ἔτεος πῆρι, he only means that it *indicated* or *declared*. From his account we may collect, that when any question was put to it, if it retired and drew back, that was as much as to say, *No* : if it advanced, the meaning was, *Yes*.

We have accounts very like this, from other authors, of other statues and oracles. Diodorus Sic. xvii. says of Jupiter Ammon : Τὸ δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ξόανον—τὴν μαντείαν ἰδιόζουσαν πανηλεῶς ποιεῖται. ἐπὶ νεῶς γὰρ περιφέρειναι χρυσῆς ὑπὸ ἱερῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες τὸν θεόν, προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως ὅπερ ὅτ' ἂν ἄγοι το τῷ Θεῷ νεῦμα τὴν πορείαν. *Simulacrum Dei—peculiari novoque plane vaticinandi genere oracula edit. In aurea enim navi a sacerdotibus octoginta circumfertur ; qui humeris Deum gestantes eo tendunt quo forte fortuna Dei nutus eos agit.* Compare with this Q. Curtius iv. 7. Macrobius, i. 23. says, *Hujus [Heliopolitani] templi religio etiam divinatione præpollet, quæ ad Apollinis potestatem refertur, qui idem atque Sol est. Vehitur enim simulacrum Dei Heliopolitani ferculo, —et subeunt plerumque provinciæ procures, raso capite, longi temporis castimonia puri ; ferunturque divino spiritu, non suo arbitrio, sed quo Deus propellit vehentes : ut videmus apud Antium promoveri simulacra Fortunarum ad danda responsa.* Strabo says from Callisthenes, that Ammon delivered his answers, ἢ διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλεόν. *non verbis, sed, ut plurimum, nutu et signis.* See Van Dale *De Orac.* p. 210, who produces

duces these passages of Diodorus, Macrobius, and Strabo, and adds some from other authors.

The writer *de Dea Syria* tells us that the beasts which were kept in this sacred place lost their natural fierceness.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐλῇ ἄφειλοι νέμονται βόες μεγάλοι, καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ αἰετοὶ, καὶ ἄρκτοι, καὶ λέοντες, καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὑδαμᾶ σίνονται, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἰσοὶ τέ εἰσι, καὶ χειροῦθες. *In aula soluti pascuntur boves magni, et equi, et aquile, et ursi, et leones, qui nequaquam nocent hominibus, sed sacri omnes sunt, et mansueti.* § 41.

The city and temple also, as he informs us, swarmed with *Galli*, or *castrated priests*, who perhaps performed the same operation upon these wild beasts, which they had performed upon themselves; and this, together with due correction administered from time to time, and a good education, and seeing much company, and proper food, and a full belly, and three meals a day, would make these lions and bears as tame as lambs. The μεγάλοι βόες were probably *oxen*, who grow to a much larger size than bulls; and a bull is a surly animal, with whom it is hard to cultivate any friendship.

Van Dale observes from Theophrastus, that cedar, and those sorts of wood which contain an oily moisture, will have a dew upon them in damp weather, and that statues made of them will sweat, which passed for a prodigy with silly people. He mentions this, as illustrating what is said in the book *De Dea Syria* concerning sweating images: but I rather think that the priests there had some surer contrivance to bring about this miracle, and could make their images sweat when they thought it proper.

The book *De Dea Syria* is very entertaining, and composed elegantly, and in the Ionic dialect: the author seems to have been a pagan who gave credit to prodigies

prodigies, oracles, and the power of the gods, which was not Lucian's case. If Lucian wrote it, to whom it is ascribed, one might suspect that, as he proposed to follow Herodotus in style and manner, so he affected to imitate him in gravely relating marvellous and strange things. But if this were his design, it was of too refined a nature, and by the seriousness which runs through the whole composition, the jest has been hitherto lost. Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 31. banters Herodotus as a liar, though unjustly, I think; for in this charming historian there are some marks of credulity, but none of dishonesty. Whosoever made the book, and with whatsoever intent, his narration seems to be historically true, and much of it is confirmed by other writers. We are informed by Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* iii. 501. that Jurieu, in his *History of the Jewish Rites and doctrines*, has concluded that Lucian was not the author of this treatise, because it is written in the Ionic dialect. The argument proves nothing, for Lucian was an ingenious monkey, who could imitate what he would, and throw himself into all shapes; and he might affect this sweetly flowing style, for several reasons, or out of mere fancy; and Arrian, as Fabricius observes, wrote his *Indica* in this dialect, though he composed his other works in the Attic diction. I have not Jurieu's book to consult, and perhaps it is not worth the seeking. Jurieu made a figure in his time, and had more zeal than discretion. He wrote some tracts of devotion, and he was remarkable for two things; first, for misinterpreting the Apocalypse, and thence foretelling what never came to pass; secondly, for publishing idle stories against Grotius, and other learned men, in a book called *L'Esprit de Monsieur Arnould*. The book at first had a run, for censure



is of a healthy complexion, and thrives better than pægyric ; and as it has been said of a hog \*, that his soul is given him instead of salt, to keep him from stinking, so what is called *secret history* will preserve even a slovenly performance from decaying, longer than one would imagine : but now this work would be little known, if Bayle, and Le Clerc, and others had not chastised it, in which, perhaps, they did it too much honour. Jurieu by treating Grotius as an infidel, went to work like a bungler, for *Est ars etiam maledicendi*, as Joseph Scaliger said upon a like occasion, and it requires something of a hand to throw dirt. Bossuet, though he did not fight with such weapons as Jurieu, yet attacked Grotius, as a dangerous author and a Socinian, and made remarks upon him which are mere declamation and *verbiage*. It is one thing to be *bishop of Meaux*, and another thing to be *Hugo Grotius* :

Οὐ γὰρ ἐν μέσοισι κεῖται  
 Δῶρα δυσμαχήλα Μοισᾶν  
 Τῷ πικρυχόλῳ φέρειν †.

Calmet, if I remember right, has also treated Grotius in the same manner. Grotius was inclined to think and to judge rather too favourably than too hardly of the church of Rome ; for which some of the ecclesiastics of that communion have repaid him with the gratitude that was to be expected, and have taught by-standers, that he who endeavours to stroke a tiger into good humour, will at least have his fingers bitten off in the experiment.

Herodotus

\* Cicero *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 64.

† Non enim in medio jacent  
 Ardua dona Musarum  
 A quolibet auferenda.



Herodotus is of opinion that divination and oracles had their rise in Egypt, and thence came into Afric and Greece, and that the oracle at Dodona was the most ancient in Greece. L. ii. The opinion is very probable, for Egypt was the nursery of idolatry and superstition. Homer mentions the temple of Jupiter at Dodona, and that of Apollo at Pytho, or Delphi, as being illustrious in the time of the Trojan war, and represents the latter as immensely rich. Il. II. 233. I. 404.

Herodotus shews us the great authority of oracles, from ancient times down to his own, by which kingdoms were disposed of, and war and peace were made. He relates that the Heraclidæ, who, before Gyges, reigned in Lydia, at Sardes, obtained the kingdom by an oracle, and that Gyges, who slew his master Candaules, had the kingdom adjudged to him by the Delphic oracle, which favour he rewarded by sending thither large gifts. Herodotus every where speaks of oracles, divination, and prodigies, as one who firmly believed in them, and who was displeased with those that slighted them. See viii. 77. He gives us there an oracle of Bacis, in which there is a remarkable expression, and in the style of the Scriptures,

Δῖα δίκη σέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβρις ἤν.

*Compescet juvenem meritissima pœna superbum.*

as *Psalms* lxxxix. 22.—nor the son of wickedness afflict him. 2 *Sam.* vii. 10. neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them. Judas is called the son of perdition, *John* xvii. 12. where see Grotius.

Herodotus also relates prophetic dreams which were said to have been accomplished, as the dream of Cræsus, of Astyages, and of others. *Having travelled,* says Prideaux, *through Egypt, Syria, and several other*

*countries, in order to the writing of his history, he did, as travellers used to do, he put down relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt was imposed upon in many of them.*

Van Dale, in his book *De Oraculis*, observes, that the Oracular temples were usually situated in mountainous places, which abounded with caverns fitted for frauds. That the oracles were delivered only at stated times. That at Delphi, the priestess had priests, prophets, and poets, to take down, and explain, and mend her gibberish ; which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses, for if they were defective, the fault was laid upon the amanuensis : That the consulters sometimes wrote their requests, and received answers in writing : That the priests had the art of opening letters, and closing them again without breaking the seal : That the *adyta*, whence the oracles were delivered, were shaded with branches, and clouded with incense, to help the fraud : That in the temples sweet smells were suddenly diffused, to shew that the god was in good humour : That there are drugs, herbs, and fumigations which will make a man foam at the mouth, and be delirious, and that the priestess might use such methods : That it might also sometimes be grimace and artifice : That the god sometimes gave answers himself, by a voice, or by the motion of his statue, &c. This is what I had to offer concerning divination, and prophecy in general, the Sibylline oracles excepted, which shall be examined apart.

The prophecies relating to our Saviour, and to Christianity, have some of them a mixture of obscurity, and the interpretations which have been given of them are various : but this ought to be matter neither of wonder

der, nor of offence, because in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise.

*It were indeed to be wondered, if obscurity should not lie upon some of the prophecies, the latest whereof was written at the distance of above two thousand years ago.*

*Prophetic writings, besides what is common to them with other writings, to grow dark with age, have something peculiar in their nature to render them less intelligible. Prophecies, remote from the time of their accomplishment, and whose completion depends on the concurrence of free agents, are not wont to be delivered very distinctly at first. The obscurity becomes greater, from the language wherein they are written. The Hebrew, as other Eastern languages, is entirely different from the European. Many things are there left to be supplied by the quickness of the reader's apprehension, which are with us expressed by proper words and repetitions. Particles disjunctive and adversative, significative marks of connexion and of transition from one subject to another are often omitted here. Dialogues are carried on, objections answered, comparisons made, without notice in the discourse; and through frequent change of persons, tenses, and numbers, we are left to guess who are the persons spoken of, which gave no difficulty to them whose living language it was.*

*The prophetic style is of all other the most copious this way. It seems to be a sort of language by itself. It ties itself to no order or method, but passes from one subject to another insensibly, and suddenly resumes it again, and often sullies out to the main thing that was intended in the prophet's thoughts. The prophets used to act part of what they were to foretell: those actions supplying the place of words, and being not expressed in the writing, a sort of chasm is sometimes to be discerned in them; as at other times, different discourses, or addresses, distinguishable in the*  
H 3 speaking.



speaking, by proper signs and motions, seem now to be connected, though they have no relation to each other.—

What increases the difficulty, is the little or no order that the collectors have placed the prophecies in, according to the usage of the ancients, who joined together writings upon different occasions, of the same authors, and sometimes of different authors, as if they made but one continued discourse.—

The mistake might have been in some measure prevented, had the books written by the Jews, after their return from the Babylonian captivity, remained to our days—But these helps fail us, and not one book writ in the Hebrew tongue, since prophecy ceased, hath escaped the general calamity that hath befallen the Jewish writings. Bp. Chandler *Introd. to Defense of Christian*.

*Oratio Jesaïæ sic est constructa, ut de illius arte, elegantia, ἐρεγρία, pondere, nihil tam magnificum cogitari ac dici possit, quin sit infra ejus meritum.—Sed id ipsum est, quod interpretem multis in locis impedit, ejusque, studiosi etiam et bonis subsidiis instructi, diligentiam ac judicium valde exercet. Imo vero censeo, nullius mortalis, licet in Hebræis literis docte versati, tantum esse acumen, peritiam, perspicaciam, ut Prophetæ nostro longe pluribus locis reddere potuerit genuinum suum sensum, nisi Lectio antiqua Synagogica per traditionem in Scholis Hebræorum fuisset conservata, ut eam nunc Masoretharum punctulis expressam habemus. Vitringa, Præfat. ad Jesaïam.*

*Il y a dans les Prophetes beaucoup de mots trèsobscurs, qui pouvoient être clairs autrefois, que la langue Hebraïque étoit florissante. Il y a encore plus de passages, où la construction et la liaison du discours ne sont pas faciles à développer, et où l'on ne voit pas bien ce que les Prophetes ont voulu dire. Les allusions fréquentes à des choses, qui nous sont inconnues, soit à l'égard des Juifs, soit à l'égard*



à l'égard de la plûpart des peuples voisins, dont il ne nous reste aucuns monumens, ne servent pas peu à embarrasser les interpretes. Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* xxvii. 381.

*Nos sane suas elegantius esse Hebræorum Lingue, quemadmodum ceteris omnibus, non negamus; sed cum cultis et copiosis Linguis conferendam esse non putamus. Monendus tamen est Lector eam a nobis spectari, non qualis olim dum florebat fortasse fuit, sed qualis superest in Libris Sacris, quibus omnes ejus reliquie continentur. Multo quidem plura vocabula, pluresque phrases in usu fuisse, quam quæ in modico volumine leguntur, non ægrè fatemur. Sed quoad potest ex ejus reliquiis judicium ferri, inopem eam, ambiguum, et parum cultam fuisse existimamus, quod jam ostendere aggrediemur.*

*Linguarum omnium laudes in tribus potissimum rebus sitæ sunt, in copia vocabulorum et phrasium, in perspicuitate orationis, ejusque elegantia, cujus a Rhetoribus Canones describuntur; quibus rebus multo Hebraicâ superiores sunt multæ Lingue, et Græca quidem præ ceteris; nec quasi pulcherrimam jactari Hebraicam posse, manifestum est, &c. &c. Le Clerc, *Proleg. ad V. T. Dis. i.**

Such are the difficulties which attend the interpretation of the prophecies, and which I chose to represent in the words of competent judges. And yet that Jesus was the Messiah foretold by the prophets appears thus: The prophets speak of a new and second covenant, which God would make with his people: They mention, not once or twice, but very often, the conversion of the Gentiles from superstition and idolatry to the worship of the true God: They speak of four successive empires, the last of which was the Roman empire, and under this last empire they say that a new and everlasting kingdom should be established by one to whom God should give absolute

power and dominion. A great person was to come, who should be Immanuel, or, God with us, the Son of God, and the Son of Man, of the seed of Abraham, of Isaac, and of David; born of a virgin, poor and obscure, and yet one whom David calls his Lord; the Lord to whom the temple belonged, the mighty God, a great king, an everlasting priest, though not of the tribe of Levi; born at Bethlehem, a prophet like unto Moses, but greater than Moses; a prophet who should preach to the poor and meek, and proclaim liberty to the captives, and comfort the mourners, and heal the broken hearted; who should proclaim his gospel first and principally in the land of Zebulon and Naphthali, in Galilee of the Gentiles; who should have a forerunner in the spirit of Elias, crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; who should instruct in a mild and peaceable manner, without wrath and contention, before the destruction of the temple, in which temple he should be seen and heard; who should enter into Jerusalem meek and humble, and riding on an ass; who should work miracles more than Moses and all the prophets, and miracles of the merciful and beneficent kind, open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf, and make the dumb to praise God, and the lame to leap like an hart; who, notwithstanding all his power and goodness, should be rejected by the greater part of the nation, to whom he should be a stumbling-block, who should be despised and afflicted, a man of sorrow, and cut off from the land of the living; who should have enemies numerous, powerful, crafty, and wicked, who should be accused by false witnesses, betrayed by an intimate and particular friend, sold for thirty pieces of silver, and the money given for a potter's field,

when

when it had been flung away by the traitor who should not live long after his crime, and whose office should be filled up by another ; that his enemies should use him contumeliously, buffet him, and spit upon him, whilst he should be led like a lamb to the slaughter, not opening his mouth, and uttering nothing, except intercessions for the transgressors ; that his enemies should strip him of his raiment, divide it amongst themselves, and cast lots upon it, surround him, pierce his hands and his feet, mock him, and shake their heads at him, give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink ; that he should be reduced to so weak and languishing a condition that his bones might all be counted, his heart should melt within him, and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth ; that he should be brought to the dust of death, that he should be pierced, and yet not one of his bones be broken ; that he should be laid in the sepulchre of a rich and honourable man, none of his enemies hindering it ; that he should rise again before he had seen corruption, and subdue his enemies, and ascend into heaven, and sit at God's right hand, and be crowned with honour and glory, and see his seed and prosper, and justify many, and be adored by kings and princes ; that then Jerusalem should be made desolate, and the Jews dispersed in all lands, and the Gentiles should be converted and flow into the church. These things were said concerning some person ; and they are all applicable to Christ.

God foretold by his prophets in a clear and exact manner many great changes and revolutions, many things relating to the fates and fortunes of the Jews, and of the neighbouring nations with whom they were concerned. The only possible objection which can be made to these predictions, is that perhaps they were  
written



written after the event. I shall therefore mention a few, out of several, which cannot be suspected of such a forgery.

Ezekiel \* thus prophecies concerning Egypt. *Egypt shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations : for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations*, xxix. 15.

Egypt was attacked and oppressed by the Persians, by Cambyses, by Xerxes, by Darius Nothus, and conquered by Ochus three hundred and fifty years before Christ ; and from that time to this day, the Egyptians never had an Egyptian king, but have been under the government of the Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, and Turks. Eusebius was mistaken in dating the subjection of Egypt to a foreign power from the victory of Augustus at Actium, and the death of Antony and Cleopatra. *Dem. Evang.* vi. p. 299.

Concerning Babylon it was foretold ; *The wild beasts of the desert—shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein : and it shall be no more inhabited for ever ; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof—so no man shall dwell there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.—They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations ; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord.—Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing, without an inhabitant.—When thou hast made an end of reading this book, thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates. And thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her.*  
—*Babylon*

\* Isaiah prophesied more than 700, Jeremiah more than 600, and Ezekiel almost 600 years before Christ.



—*Babylon the glory of kingdoms—shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and dragons in their pleasant places.* Jer. l. 39. li. 26. 37. 64. Isai. xiii. 19.

Seleucus built Seleucia, before Christ 293, which completed the ruin and desolation of Babylon, a desolation that continues to this day. *Prideaux Connect.* P. I. B. viii. p. 448. fol. ed. and *Vitringa on Isa.* xiii.

Concerning Tyre it was prophesied; *I will make thee like the top of a rock: thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more;—thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more.* Ezek. xxvi. 14. 21. xxvii. 36. 'xxviii. 19.

Old Tyre and new Tyre are no more, and only exist in history. *Tyrus insularis—tandem peruenit ad eum statum, quo hodie deprehenditur, ut in ipsa Tyro quoque Itinerator Tyrum quærat et non agnoscat: perinde ut res se habuit cum Babylone. Qui articuli immutationis Tyri, et varia ejus fata a me ex Historia demonstrari possent, si vere cum Marshamo aliisque mihi non persuaderem, vaticinium hoc Ezechielis intelligendum esse de Tyro vetere, urbe olim multo majore et potentiore, quam fuit Tyrus nova insularis, licet ea ipsi accensita fuerit; quæ Tyrus insularis post hoc tempus sola culta est, et gloriam Tyri veteris sustinuit:—dum altera pars ejus, hoc est, Tyrus vetus, plane subverteretur, nunquam reædificanda, ab Alexandro dein plane diruta, qui ruderibus lapidibusque ejus usus est in Tyro insulari oppugnanda; ut adeo hodieque ejus Palætyri nihil amplius supersit,*

*supersit, nec locus nisi ad signa veterum Geographorum, eaque non satis certa, demonstrari possit. Vitrunga ad Isai. xxiii. p. 703. See also Prideaux Connect.*

*The city of Tyre, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here, but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, that it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on. Maundrel's Journey, p. 48.*

In Genesis xvi. the angel said to Hagar—*Thou shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael;—And he will be a wild man; [as savage as a wild ass] his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.*

Ishmael was the father of the Arabs, who are, and ever have been, such as Ishmael is here described, robbers, free-booters, and independent vagabonds.

In the same book, ch. xxvii. Isaac says to his son Esau, *by thy sword shalt thou live.* Esau was the father of the Idumæans, who were always a warlike people, ravaging their neighbours, and of a restless disposition. Such they were in the days of Josephus, who gives them this character: *Θορυβῶδες ἡ ἀτακτον ἔθνος, αἰέ τε μετέωρον πρὸς τὰ κινήματα, ἡ μεταβολαῖς χαῖρον, πρὸς ὀλίγην δὲ κολακείαν τῶν δεομένων, τὰ ὅπλα κινῶν, ἡ καθάπερ εἰς ἐορὴν, εἰς τὰς παραλῆξεις ἐπειγόμενον. Turbarum avida, et incondita*  
*gens,*

*gens, semperque ad motus suspensa, mutationibus gaudens, minimis petentium blanditiis arma movens, et in prælia festinans, quasi ad festum.* B. J. iv. 4.

The most extraordinary person who ever appeared amongst the Jews was Christ, who without human means, and with a few poor disciples, brought about a greater change, and accomplished a greater undertaking, than any Jew ever conceived and attempted. If he was the Messiah, it is reasonable to suppose that the prophets, who so accurately and undeniably foretold the things relating to Babylon, Tyre, &c. would give some indications of this sacred person, which was of more importance to the Jews and to mankind; and consequently it is reasonable to think that we rightly understand in general the prophecies which are applied to him. If he falsely assumed the character which he took, yet, since he had the art and the success to make many of the Jews, and a great part of the Gentile world believe in him, it was to be expected that some caution would have been given in the prophetic writings to the Jews, that they might not be misled by him, nor expect any prophet after Malachi.

Passages in the Old Testament which have been applied to him, are of four sorts.

I. Accommodations :

II. Direct prophecies :

III. Types :

IV. Prophecies of double senses.

I. Accommodations are passages of the Old Testament, which are adapted by the writers of the New, to something that happened in their time, because of some correspondence and similitude. These are no prophecies, though they be said sometimes to be *fulfilled*; for any thing may be said to be *fulfilled*, when  
it



it can be pertinently applied. For example, St Matthew says, *All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.* The meaning is apparently no more than this, that what the Psalmist said of his way of teaching, might justly be said of those discourses of Christ.

Thus the apostles frequently allude to the sacred books; and thus Pagan writers often cite passages from their old poets, to describe things\* of which those poets never thought; and this is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing; and a passage applied justly, and in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an ingenious reader, who loves to be agreeably surprised, and to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. He has that surprise which the Latin poet so poetically gives to the tree;

*Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.*

II. Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense. Upon these we ought principally to insist, when we would prove the truth of our religion from the predictions of the Old Testament; and of these there is a considerable number. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles, the everlasting kingdom of the Son of man, to be erected during the time of the Roman empire, and the second covenant. Such is the cxth Psalm; *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I*  
make

\* Diogenes the Cynic was remarkable for this sort of wit, and many of his applications, or parodies of Homer are very happy and ingenious.



*make thy enemies thy footstool, &c.* This is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be ; it is applicable to Christ alone, and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his gospel, the obedience of his subjects, the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman emperors, who persecuted his church. But of this prophecy something more shall be said, when we come to the reign of Constantine.

III. A type is a rough draught, a less accurate pattern or model, from which a more perfect image or work is made. Types, or typical prophecies, are things which happened and were done in ancient time, and are recorded in the Old Testament, and which are found afterwards to describe or represent something which befel our Lord, and which relates to him and to his gospel. For example : Under the law, a lamb was offered for a sin-offering, and thus an atonement was made for transgressions. John the Baptist calls Christ *the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world*, and St Peter tells Christians that they are redeemed *by the blood of Christ as of a lamb*. Hence we infer and conclude that the lamb was a type of Christ ; and upon considering it, we find that it has all that can be required to constitute a type ; for it is in many respects a very just and lively representation of Christ. The lamb died for no offence of his own, but for the sins of others ; so did Christ : the lamb could not commit sin by his nature, nor Christ by his perfection : the lamb was without bodily spot or blemish ; Christ was holy and undefiled : a lamb is meek and patient ; such was the afflicted and much injured Son of God.

These types are useful to persons who have already received Christianity upon other, and stronger evidence,

dence, as they shew the beautiful harmony and correspondence between the Old and New Testament ; but they seem not proper proofs to satisfy and convince doubters, who will say perhaps with the schoolmen, *Theologia symbolica non est argumentativa*.

Unless we have the authority of the scriptures of the New Testament for it, we cannot conclude with certainty that this or that person, or this or that thing mentioned in the Old Testament is a type of Christ, on account of the resemblance which we may perceive between them : but we may admit it as probable.

*Joseph was a Nazarene, as the word may denote a separate person. And though he were not under a Nazarite's vow, yet as he was separate from his brethren, he is called Nazir \*, a Nazarite, in the more general and lax signification of the word. And there is a very singular correspondence between him and Jesus. Joseph was the beloved son of his father ; and so is Jesus too. But as he was hated by his brethren, so Jesus came to his own, and his own received him not. If the sun, moon, and stars did, in a figure, obeisance to Joseph ; they did it to Jesus without a trope. Come, let us kill him, was the language of the brethren, both of Joseph and of Jesus.— They were both sold for pieces of money ; both became servants. The bloody coat of Joseph answers to the blood of Jesus. They were both forced down into Egypt ; both were numbered with transgressors. Joseph is imprisoned with Pharaoh's butler and baker, one of them is saved, the other destroyed : Jesus suffers with two thieves, and one of them is saved also. Joseph sold corn, and saves his people ; so does Jesus, the multiplier of loaves, and the Bread of Life. If Joseph exhort his brethren to peace, so did Jesus. If they bowed the knee to Joseph,*

\* Gen. xlix. 26.

*seph, every knee must bow to Jesus. If Joseph were highly exalted upon his sufferings, so was Jesus. They were both men of sorrow, both fruitful branches, both lifted up from a low and sorrowful condition.*

*Sampson was a Nazarite, in the strictest sense, and a perpetual one, and a type of the Messias too, as the Jews intimate in their two Targums upon Gen. xlix. 18. A very fit type he was of Jesus Christ. He was so in his very birth: he was the son of a barren woman; Jesus of a virgin. The tidings of the birth of Sampson were brought to his mother by an angel; as was that of the birth of Jesus. He shall be a Nazarite, says the angel of Sampson; and of Jesus it is said, that he dwelt in Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was said by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene. Of Sampson the angel foretells that he should deliver Israel; and the angel tells of Jesus, that he should save his people. An angel was sent to satisfy both Manoah and Joseph. If the Spirit of God be said to move Sampson; that Spirit descended upon Jesus, and led him into the wilderness. If Sampson marries a Philistine woman, Jesus espoused the Gentiles. Sampson killed the lion, destroyed the Philistines, removed the gates of the city, and at his death gave the greatest blow to his enemies: but it is Jesus Christ that overcame the devil, and the world, and got the conquest of death and hell, that destroyed the devil by his death, and that raised himself up from death to life. Kidder's Demonst. of the Messias, ch. iii.*

IV. There are prophecies of double senses, which admit no more than two senses, which are nearly of the same kind with typical prophecies, and many of which might perhaps be cleared up by observing that the prophet meant one thing, and the Spirit of God, who spake by him, meant another thing; for the Ho-



ly Spirit so over-ruled the prophets, as to make them use words which strictly and rigidly interpreted could not mean what themselves intended.

Somewhat of this kind is the prophecy of the high priest Caiaphas; for the Spirit of God has sometimes spoken by bad men. When the chief priests and Pharisees consulted what they should do with Jesus, the high priest said, *Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.* His meaning was plainly this, that it mattered not whether Christ were guilty or innocent, because the public safety absolutely required his death. *And this spake he,* says St John, *not of himself; but, being high priest that year, he prophecied that Jesus should die for that nation,* that is, be a sacrifice and atonement for their sins. He prophecied then, and knew it not; for he had himself another intent and meaning.

As Daniel, xii. 8, 9. says, that he knew not the meaning of the prediction which he delivered, so the Gentiles, if we may be permitted to introduce them upon this occasion, have remarked concerning their prophets, that they knew not the import of their own prophecies, or rather, that they were merely passive, and knew not even that they were speaking. λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ ὅδεν ὧν λέγουσι, says Socrates, in Plato's *Apol.* and in *Menon.* p. 99. *Ed. Steph.* The Sibyl also says, or is made to say, concerning herself, L. ii.

—οὔτε γ' οἶδα

Ὅτι λέγω, κέλεται δὲ Θεός [με] ἕκασ' ἀγορεύειν.

Which is very like the words cited from Plato, Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 54. *Tunc [sacerdos] haustâ fontis arcani aquâ, ignarus plerumque literarum et carminum, edit responsa versibus, &c.*

When



When the prophets of God spake in his name, they talked and acted like men who knew that they were prophesying. In some of the Pagan oracles, the god is supposed to use the organs of the man, and the man is supposed to know nothing of the discourse. This appears to have been the case of some dæmoniacs in the New Testament, in whom the evil spirit was the speaker. The Pagan prophets therefore either were, or pretended to be out of their senses ; and by this argument some sly or credulous people imposed upon Justin Martyr, (if he wrote the *Cohortatio*) and made an excuse for the nonsense and the faults against metre in the Sibylline oracles. The Sibyl, said they, uttered verses when she was inspired ; when the inspiration ceased, she remembered nothing that she had said. They who attended her and wrote down her prophecies, being often unskilful and illiterate people, made frequent mistakes, and gave us lame verses and false quantities. *Cohort. ad Græc.* 38. See what is said above, p. 12. See also Smith *on prophecy*, who has collected passages from Plato and others, to shew that the Pagan prophets were in a sort of phrenzy and *delirium*, *ch.* iv.

This is the very same excuse which the Pagans made for the bad style and other defects of their oracles. Van Dale *De Orac.* p. 162.

*Since no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation, that is, the meaning of prophecies is not what perhaps the prophet himself might imagine in his private judgment of the state of things then present, but holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ; there may therefore very possibly, and very reasonably be supposed to be many prophecies, which, though they may have a prior and immediate reference to some*

nearer event, yet by the Spirit of God (whom those prophecies which are express, shew to have had a further view) may have been directed to be uttered in such words as may even more properly and more justly be applied to the great event which providence had in view, than to the intermediate event which God designed only as a pledge or earnest of the other, &c. Clarke's *Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Rel.*

Of omens, to which Pagan superstition paid great regard from the time of Homer, there were several, where the words of the omen had one sense, and the event, as they say, verified it in another sense. Here is a remarkable instance: *Cæcilia Metelli, dum sororis filiae, adultæ ætatis virgini, more prisco, nocte concubia, nuptialia petit, omen ipsa fecit. Nam cum in sacello quodam, ejus rei gratia, aliquamdiu persedisset, nec ulla vox proposito congruens esset audita; fessa longa standi mora puella rogavit materteram, ut sibi paulisper locum residendi accommodaret; cui illa, Ego vero, inquit, tibi mea sede cedo. Quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum, ad certi ominis processit eventum: quoniam Metellus non ita multo post, mortua Cæcilia, virginem de qua loquor, in matrimonium duxit.* Val. Maximus, i. v. 4. The same story is related by Cicero, *de Divin.* i. 46. Plutarch, in the life of Alexander, says: βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ Θεῷ χρῆσασθαι περὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφούς· ἢ κατὰ τύχην ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων ὕσων. ἐν αἷς ὁ νερόμισαι δεμισεῦεν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεμπεν παρακαλῶν τὴν πρόμαντιν ὡς δὲ ἀρνούμενης καὶ προῖσχομένης τὸν νόμον, αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς βίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἴλκεν αὐτήν. ἡ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐξητήρημένη τῆς σπαρδῆς, εἶπεν, Ἀνίκητος εἶ, ὦ παῖ. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος, ἔκ' ἔτι ἔφη χρῆζειν ἐτέρου μαντεύματος, ἀλλὰ ἔχειν ἐν ἑβέλῳ παρ' αὐτῆς χρησμόν. *Delphos ad Deum de bello consulendum profectus, quod forte dies nefasti essent, quibus non erat solenne oracula edere, primo misit certos, qui*

*tatem*

*ratem orarent ut veniret. Recusante illa, et legem causante, ascendit ipse, et vi traxit eam ad templum. Quæ illius contentione expugnata ait, Invictus es, fili. Id audiens Alexander, negavit se alias sortes querere, sed jam habere quod petierat ab ea oraculum.*

If the words of Caiaphas will admit two senses, it follows not that they will admit ten, or as many as the teeming imagination of a fanatic can suggest ; and prophecies of double senses, if such prophecies there be, may have meanings as determinate and fixed, as if they had only one sense. The same is true of allegorical writings. Horace *Carm. I. xiv.* says,

*O navis, referent in mare te noxi, &c.*

The commentators on this poem are divided ; one part contend for the literal sense, and the other for the allegorical : but the ode has a double sense. The poet addresses himself to a real ship, and yet intended, under that image or emblem, to dissuade the Romans from exposing themselves again to a civil war. This will remove some difficulties raised by writers on both sides of the question.

Mr Warburton made the same remark, and to him I resign it, as unto the first occupier, unless he will let me claim a part of it upon the privilege of friendship, and as *κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων*. Indeed the interpretation is so unforced and obvious, that I wonder it came not into the mind of many persons.

Moses said of the paschal lamb, *Neither shall ye break a bone thereof*. St John says that this was fulfilled in Christ ; whence it has been not unreasonably inferred, that those words had, with the most obvious sense, a prophetical, that is, a double sense.

David seems to speak concerning himself when he says, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy*



*holy One to see corruption.* He intended perhaps no more than this, Thou shalt not suffer me to come to an untimely end, to be killed by mine enemies and cast into the grave: but then the divine impulse which was upon him, made him use words which should suit exactly to Christ, and to himself only in a loose and figurative sense. Of this the prophet himself might be sensible, and might know that his words had another import, and that they should be fulfilled twice, both in the sense which he intended, and in the sublimer sense of the Holy Spirit. By these means a shade was cast over the prophecy, and the sense of the Spirit was concealed till the event unfolded it, and made it conspicuous; which obscurity seems to have been sometimes necessary, that the persons concerned in bringing about the accomplishment might not know what was predicted concerning them and their actions\*.

In *Deuteronomy*, xviii. 18, 19. it is said; *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* And ver. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet in the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.*

1. The intention of Moses seems to have been to administer

\* It is proper that men should be treated as free agents: and men are free; at least they think so, and few of them will give up this persuasion, and suffer themselves to be quibbled out of their senses and experience. Truth and general utility will be found always to coincide, and one would be glad to know what useful purposes can be served from the doctrine of fatalism. The fatalist will say; It will make a man humble. It is as likely to make him a mathematician, or a poet.



minister some consolation to the people who would soon be deprived of him, and in him, of the best friend and ruler, that any nation ever enjoyed. Therefore he took occasion to assure them that they should not be destitute of a prophet, and that God would, in compassion and kindness to them, supply the loss which they would sustain by the death of their deliverer and conductor.

2. When the law was delivered with dreadful pomp, and the voice of God was heard, and his majesty appeared in formidable splendor, the people were extremely terrified; for it was an opinion common both amongst Jews and Pagans, that no man could safely approach the Deity, and that death, or some great evil, was the consequence of beholding him. See Le Clerc on Gen. xvi. 13. Therefore they besought Moses to intreat for them that they might no more be brought into such danger. For this reason, and to calm their fears, Moses assured them that for the time to come God would speak to them not in person, but by a Mediator, by a prophet, by a man like themselves. *The Lord thy God, says he, will raise up unto thee a prophet—according to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken: I will raise them up a prophet.*

3. The Pagan nations had their gods, their oracles, their soothsayers, and magicians, and there was great danger lest the people of Israel should go and consult them, and so fall into idolatry; and, in fact, all these iniquities ensued in following times. That nothing might be wanting to guard against this corruption,  
and

and that the transgressors might be inexcusable, God positively forbid them to go after the gods, the priests, and the prophets of other nations, and promised them that they should never want a prophet of their own. Thus, after the death of Moses, they had Joshua, and Samuel, and Elijah, and Elisha, and other illustrious men, besides the high priest by whom they used to consult God upon all important occasions. This interpretation is favoured by the context. *There shall not be found among you one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer—For these nations which thou shalt possess, hearken unto observers of times, and unto diviners : but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee to do so. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me ; unto him ye shall hearken.—I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.*

Some understand this of a succession of prophets in general, and more particularly of the Messias, who of all the prophets resembled Moses the most. Others think, that the Messias alone is here foretold, since the words in a strict and accurate sense represent him alone. Each of these interpretations has had learned defenders ;

*magno se judice quæque tuetur.*

But I observe,

1. Both these interpretations agree in this, that Christ is here promised and foretold, nor indeed is the  
first

first very discordant from the second ; for if Moses meant in general every prophet, and any prophet who should succeed him, the Messias cannot be excluded ; and if the Messias resembles Moses in a particular manner, the prophecy points him out above all the rest.

2. St Stephen and St Peter say, that Jesus Christ is the prophet foretold by Moses, and Christ himself had probably this passage in view, when he said, *If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me.*

3. Though Moses might perhaps mean a succession of prophets, yet the Spirit of God, who was then upon him, guided him to use words which should describe the Messias much better than any other prophet. The other prophets were only so far like unto Moses that they were prophets, but in many respects they were not like him. In the last chapter of Deuteronomy, there is an addition which was made to the books of Moses, long after his death, by some prophet probably, who inserts the following remark : *And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses :* which has a manifest reference to the prophecy of which we are treating, and may be thus understood : Although Moses said that the Lord would raise up one like unto him, yet this prophecy has not yet been accomplished in a strict and full sense : there has not yet arisen one like unto him ; but this great prophet is still to come.

This last chapter of Deuteronomy seems to have been composed by two authors, and at two different times ; the first part, down to the ninth verse, soon after the death of Moses, the three last verses long afterwards. Add to this, that the resemblance between  
Moses



Moses and Christ is so very great and striking, that it is impossible to consider it fairly and carefully, without seeing and acknowledging that he must be foretold where he is so well described.

Ammonius wrote a book commended by Eusebius and Jerom, *Περὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ συμφωνίας*, *De consensu Mosis ac Jesu*, which is not extant. *Euseb. E. H. vi. 19.* Whether this treatise was designed to shew the resemblance and agreement between the persons, or between their doctrines we cannot say: perhaps it was the latter.

Eusebius has treated the subject, on which I am entering, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, L. iii. p. 90, &c. *Ed. Paris. 1628.* but as he was hastening to other points, he has not discussed this so fully as to discourage those who should be inclined to attempt the same thing. I shall therefore endeavour to make several improvements upon his remarks, and additions to them.

1. First, and which is the principal of all, Moses was a law-giver, and the mediator of a covenant between God and man: so was Christ. Here the resemblance is the more considerable, because no other prophet besides them executed this high office. The other prophets were only interpreters and enforcers of the law, and in this were greatly inferior to Moses. The Messiah could not be like unto Moses in a strict sense, unless he were a legislator\*. He must give a law to men, and consequently a more excellent law, and a better covenant than the first; for if the first had been perfect, as the author of the epistle to the

\* By this prediction Moses guarded the people against the prejudice which his own authority was like to create against a new law-giver; telling them beforehand, that, when the great prophet came, their obedience ought to be transferred to him. *Bp. Sherlock. Dis. ii.*



the Hebrews argues, there could have been no room for a second.

2. Other prophets had revelations in dreams and visions, but Moses talked with God, with the *Λόγος*, face to face: so Christ spake that which he had seen with the Father.

*If there be a prophet among you, says God to Aaron and Miriam, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all my house; with him I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold. Num. xii.*

*All the prophets of the Old Testament saw visions, and dreamed dreams, all the prophets of the New were in the same state. St Peter had a vision, St John saw visions, St Paul had visions and dreams. But Christ neither saw visions nor dreamed a dream, but had an intimate and immediate communication with the Father, he was in the Father's bosom, and he, and no man else had seen the Father.—Moses and Christ are the only two in all the sacred history, who had this communication with God. Bp. Sherlock Disc. vi.*

3. Moses in his infancy was wonderfully preserved from the cruelty of a tyrant, and from the destruction of all the male children: so was Christ.

4. Moses fled from his country to escape the hands of the king: so did Christ when his parents carried him into Egypt. Afterwards *the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life, Exod. iv. 19.* So the angel of the Lord said to Joseph, in almost the same words, *Arise and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life,*

life, Mat. ii. 20. pointing him out, as it were, for that prophet who should arise like unto Moses.

5. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, chusing rather to suffer affliction: Christ had the kingdoms of the world offered him by Satan, and rejected them, and when the people would have made him a king, he hid himself, chusing rather to suffer affliction.

6. *Moses*, says St Stephen, *was learned, ἐπαιδεύθη, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds*; and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* ii. 9. says that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowledge beyond his years, which is taken from Jewish tradition, and which of itself is highly probable: St Luke observes of Christ, that *he increased (betimes) in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man*, and his discourses in the temple with the doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. The difference was that Moses acquired his early knowledge by human instruction, and Christ by a divine *afflatus*. To both of them might be applied what Callimachus elegantly feigns of Jupiter:

Ὅξυ δ' ἀνέβησας, ταχίνοι δέ τοι ἦλθον ἱελοί·

Ἀλλ' ἔτι παιδὶός ἐὼν ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια.

*Swift was thy growth, and early was thy bloom,*

*But earlier wisdom crown'd thy infant days.*

7. Moses delivered his people from cruel oppression and a heavy bondage: so did Christ from the worse tyranny of sin and Satan.

8. Moses contended with the magicians, and had the advantage over them so manifestly, that they could no longer withstand him, but were forced to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted:

Christ

Christ ejected evil spirits, and received the same acknowledgments from them.

9. Moses assured the people whom he conducted, that, if they would be obedient, they should enter into the happy land of promise, which land was usually understood by the wiser Jews to be an emblem and a figure of that eternal and celestial kingdom to which Christ opened an entrance.

10. Moses reformed the nation corrupted with Egyptian superstition and idolatry : Christ restored true religion.

11. Moses wrought a great variety of miracles : so did Christ ; and in this the parallel is remarkable, since besides Christ *there arose not a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.*

12. Moses was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest. He is called a king, *Deut. xxxiii. 5.* and he had indeed, tho' not the pomp, and the crown and sceptre, yet the authority of a king, and was the supreme magistrate ; and the office of priest he often exercised : in all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular. In the interpretation of *Deut. xxxiii. 5.* I prefer the sense of Grotius and Selden to Le Clerc's. The parallel between Moses and Christ requires it, and no objection can be made to it. The apostolical constitutions also, if their judgment be of any weight, call Moses *high priest and king*, τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἔ βασιλέα. vi. 3.

13. Moses, says Theodoret, married an Ethiopian woman, at which his relations were much offended ; and in this he was a type of Christ, who espoused the church of the Gentiles, whom the Jews were very unwilling to admit to the same favours and privileges with



with themselves. But I should not chuse to lay a great stress upon this typical similitude, though it is ingenious.

14. Moses fasted in the desert forty days and nights before he gave the law ; so did Eliás, the restorer of the Law ; and so did Christ before he entered into his ministry.

15. Moses fed the people miraculously in the wilderness : so did Christ, with bread and with doctrine ; and the manna which descended from heaven, and the loaves which Christ multiplied, were proper images of the spiritual food which the Saviour of the world bestowed upon his disciples.

*Our fathers, said the Jews, did eat manna in the desert forty years, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. Jesus said unto them, My Father (now) giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he that cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the world. I am the bread of life ; he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst. John vi.*

The metaphors of hungering and thirsting after virtue and knowledge, and of eating and drinking them, and the representation of benefits of any kind under the expressions of food and drink, have been common in all writers, sacred and profane.

St Paul says to the Corinthians, *All our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink ; for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.*

Whether the passage of the Israelites through the sea, and under the cloud, the water issuing from the rock which Moses smote, and the manna which descended



scended from heaven, were types intended to be fulfilled in Christ, and in the benefits and privileges of Christianity ; or whether the apostle referred to these things by way of allusion, similitude, and accommodation, I determine not.

16. Moses led the people through the sea : Christ walked upon it, and enabled Peter to do so.

17. Moses commanded the sea to retire and give way : Christ commanded the winds and the waves to be still.

18. Moses brought darkness over the land : the sun withdrew his light at Christ's crucifixion. And as the darkness which was spread over Egypt was followed by the destruction of their first born \*, and of Pharaoh and his host ; so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews, when, in the metaphorical and prophetic style, and according to Christ's express prediction, *the sun was darkened, and the moon withdrew her light, and the stars fell from heaven*, the ecclesiastical and civil state of the Jews

\* Mr Wasse had a conjecture, that the untimely death of Pharaoh's first-born son, who was, perhaps, better beloved than his father, gave occasion to the song, which the Greeks called *Linus*, and which they had from the Egyptians : ἔστι ἡ Αἰγυπτισὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεόμενος. Μανέρας. ἔφασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεύσαντι Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μετ' ἐκείνου μενέσθαι· ἀποθάνοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἄνακτον, θρήνοισι τέτοις ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ αἰοῖν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μόνην ᾠδοῖν μενέσθαι. *Vocatur autem Linus Ægyptiace Maneros: quem Ægyptii tradiderunt, quum filius unicus extitisset primi Ægypti regis, præmaturaque morte decessisset, his lamentis ab Ægyptiis fuisse decoratum: et cantilenam hanc primam eamque solam ipsos habuisse.* Herodotus ii. 79.

It may be observed, though it is a trifle, that Gronovius gives us Λίνος circumflexed ; but the first syllable is short in the best writers, and Moschus says, *Epitaph. Bion*.

ΑΙΛΙΝΑ μοι σοναρχεῖτε νάπαι, καὶ Δάριον ὕδαρ.  
Sophocles, *Ajac.* 632. Αἴλινον. αἴλινον.

Jews was overturned, and the rulers of both were destroyed.

19. The face of Moses shone, when he descended from the mountain: the same happened unto Christ at his transfiguration on the mountain. Moses and Elias appeared then with him, to shew that the law and the prophets bare witness to him; and the divine voice said, *This is my beloved Son, hear ye him*, alluding most evidently to the prediction of Moses,—*unto him shall ye hearken*.

20. Moses cleansed one leper: Christ many.

21. Moses foretold the calamities which would befall the nation for their disobedience: so did Christ.

22. Moses chose and appointed seventy elders to be over the people: Christ chose such a number of disciples.

23. The spirit which was in Moses was conferred in some degree upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied: Christ conferred miraculous powers upon his seventy disciples.

24. Moses sent twelve men to spy out the land which was to be conquered: Christ sent his apostles into the world to subdue it by a more glorious and miraculous conquest.

25. Moses was victorious over powerful kings, and great nations: so was Christ, by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of those who persecuted his church.

26. Moses conquered Amalec by lifting and holding up both his hands all the day: Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross. This resemblance has been observed by some of the ancient Christians, and ridiculed by some of the moderns; but without sufficient reason, I think.

27. Moses

27. Moses interceded for transgressors and caused an atonement to be made for them, and stopped the wrath of God : so did Christ.

28. Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people, by sprinkling them with blood : Christ with his own blood.

29. Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book : Christ did more, he died for sinners.

30. Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood \* protected the people from destruction : Christ was that paschal lamb.

31. Moses lifted up the serpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds : Christ was that serpent. *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.* The serpent being an em-

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blem

\* Levit. xvii. 11. 12. *The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul. Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, &c.*

Here appears the reason of this strict, and often repeated prohibition; blood was appointed as the atonement for sin, it was set apart and sanctified for that purpose; and consequently when the use of the altar and sacrifices ceased at the death of Christ, the prohibition of eating blood should cease also, and the precept concerning it in the Acts of the Apostles seems to have been prudential and temporary.

Of clean animals, the blood was to be shed and thrown away; of unclean, no part was to be eaten: of clean fishes, the blood seems to be no where expressly forbidden, perhaps because their blood was never offered up in sacrifice.

The eating of a clean animal, that died of itself, is not forbidden with the same rigour; perhaps because the blood was coagulated, and not in a condition to be offered up to God. See Levit. xvii. 15. and Deut. xiv. 21.

blem of Satan, may be thought an unfit image to represent Christ : but the serpents which bit the people of Israel are called *fiery serpents*, *Seraphim*. Num. xxi. 6. Now, *Sunt boni Angeli Seraphim, sunt mali Angeli Seraphim, quos nulla figura melius quam prestere exprimas. Et tali usum primum humani generis seductorem putat Bachui*. Grotius. Therefore Christ, as he was the great and good angel, the angel of God's presence, the angel καὶ ἑξοχὴν, might be represented as a kind of seraph, a beneficent healing serpent, who should abolish the evil introduced by the seducing lying serpent, and who, like the serpent of Moses, should destroy the serpents of the magicians ; as one of those gentle serpents, who are friends to mankind :

*Nunc quoque nec fugiunt hominem, nec vulnere lædunt,  
Quidque prius fuerint, placidi meminere dracones.*

Ovid. *Metam.* iv. 601.

Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήλας ἱστοί ὄφεις, ἀνθρώπων ἑδαμῶς δηλήμονες. Herodotus ii. 74.

*Possemus hinc, says Le Clerc, incipere ostendere similitudinem Serpentis cenei, et Christi ipsius ; nam ut nemo credidisset salutiferum futurum esse Israëlitis ab chersydris demorsis, conspectum cenei serpentis : ita nec quisquam poterat, eo tempore quo res contigit, sperare hominis crucifixi cognitionem unicam fore viam, qua homines ad fidem Deo habendam, parendumque Evangelio, ex omnibus gentibus brevi adducendi essent. Verum hoc aliaque id genus Theologis latius diducenda atque illustranda relinquimus. Vide eos ad Joan. iii. 14.*

In Isaias vi. 2. &c. the seraphim are represented as praising God. Origen had a notion that these seraphim were two, and that they were the *Son* and the *Spirit* of God ; a paradox, which, though scarcely to be maintained, yet deserved not the severe censures which



which Jerom in his wrath was pleased to bestow upon it. See *Vitringa*. Eusebius says something very like it, *Præp. Evang.* vii. 15. where the notes of Vigerus may be consulted.

Esculapius, the God of physic, and of all the pagan deities supposed to be the most beneficent, appeared, according to pagan tradition, in the form of a serpent, and a serpent was sacred to him, and is described twisting round his rod.

32. All the affection which Moses shewed towards the people, all the cares and toils which he underwent on their account, were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion, and sometimes they threatened to stone him : the same returns the Jews made to Christ for all his benefits.

33. Moses was ill used by his own family ; his brother and sister rebelled against him : there was a time when Christ's own brethren believed not in him.

34. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care and conduct, and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endeavours to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin ; but in vain : in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness, except two : Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse, his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them, and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed.

35. Moses was very meek above all the men that were on the face of the earth : so was Christ.

36. The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead : by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers.

37. In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances. Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them, and upon him. *The Lord, says Moses to them, was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou shalt not go in thither, but thou shalt die. Deut. i. 37.* Moses therefore went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, when *his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.* Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent: their sufferings were of another kind.

38. Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay: nor could the Jews find the body of Christ.

39. Lastly, as Moses a little before his death, promised the people, that *God would raise them up a prophet like unto him;* so Christ, taking leave of his afflicted disciples, told them, *I will not leave you comfortless, I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter.*

Is this similitude and correspondence in so many things between Moses and Christ the effect of mere chance? Let us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to Christ as Moses was. If we cannot find such an one, then have we  
found

found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God.

But this is not all, for Moses adds; *And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* The Jews rejected Christ, and God rejected them, and gave them up to destruction; and as their offence against the Messias, and their behaviour after his death, was wicked beyond measure, and beyond example; so God fulfilled the prophecies of Moses concerning them, that he would require it of them, and that he would make their plagues wonderful, would bring upon them calamities beyond measure, and beyond example.

It may be observed, that a person can be produced who was very like to Moses, namely, *Bacchus*, who was an Egyptian god. Huetius, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* \*, has with much accuracy and learning drawn up the comparison, and the resemblance is so great, in so many particulars, that it cannot be supposed accidental: but then, first, *Bacchus* is a poetical deity, and the accounts of him are taken from fabulous history; secondly, many of the actions of the Jewish legislator were in all probability ascribed to him, and he is Moses in disguise †; so the parallel ceases.

κ 3

The

\* A book which has its use and value, but is more remarkable for erudition than for reasoning; which made a French writer say of it, in the words of Terence,

—ut te, cum tua

Monstratione, magnus perdat Jupiter!

† The Egyptians, as Herodotus tells us, ii. 42. had a story concerning their god Hercules, Ἡρακλῆα θελήσαι πάντως ἰδεῖσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἔβριθεν ἐφθῆναι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ· τίλος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλῆα,

The economy of the Jewish and of the Christian church is similar, in many respects, and upon the whole ; tho' in smaller occurrences the resemblance ought not to be too much urged ; for so any thing may be made of any thing.

The parallel between Moses and Christ has been examined, in which we are authorised to seek and to expect a strong resemblance ; both from the Old Testament, which declares, that a prophet should arise like unto Moses ; and from the New, which declares that Christ was that prophet. It deserves consideration, whether this consequence may be deduced, that, if Moses was a type of Christ, the people whom he delivered and conducted may be a type of the people to whom Christ was sent, and of the church which he established. If this should be admitted as a probability (and it should not be offered as any thing more than conjectural) we may say, that the generation which fell in the wilderness represents the Jews who rejected Christ, and perished for their disobedience. The land of promise and of rest, was a symbol of the church of Christ. The idolatry and iniquities of the Jewish nation are too exactly paralleled by the corruption which overspread the Christian church.

Many other resemblances might be pointed out which shall be omitted, since we cannot make it sufficiently

τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κρείον ἐνδείκναια προέχουσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμίησθαι τοῦ κρείου, καὶ ἐνδύσθαι τὸ νάκος, οὕτω οἱ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. *Quod Jupiter, quum ab Hercule eum cernere volente, cerni nollet, tandem, quia orando instabat Hercules, hoc commentus sit, ut, amputato arietis capite, pelleque villosa, quam illi detraxerat, induta sibi, ita sese Herculi ostenderit.*

This Hercules seems to have been Moses, who said to God, *I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.* And he said, *Thou canst not see my face, &c.* Exod. xxxiii.



ciently evident that they were not accidental. The destruction of Jerusalem, and that *second* coming of the Son of man to take vengeance of his foes, may perhaps prefigure the destruction of Antichristian tyranny, and the manifestation of Christ, that is, of his power and spirit; and then may commence a better and happier æra, and such a renovation as may be called, New heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

*The correspondencies of types and anti-types, though they are not themselves proper proofs of the truth of a doctrine, yet they may be very reasonable confirmations of the foreknowledge of God; of the uniform view of providence under different dispensations; of the analogy, harmony, and agreement between the Old Testament and the New. The words in the law concerning one particular kind of death, He that is hanged, is accursed of God, can hardly be conceived to have been put in upon any other account, than with a view and foresight of the application made of it by St Paul. The analogies between the paschal lamb, and the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world; between the Egyptian bondage, and the tyranny of sin; between the baptism of the Israelites in the sea, and in the cloud, and the baptism of Christians; between the passage through the wilderness, and through the present world; between Jesus [Joshua] bringing the people into the promised land, and Jesus Christ being the Captain of salvation to believers; between the Sabbath of rest promised to the people of God in the earthly Canaan, and the eternal rest promised in the heavenly Canaan; between the liberty granted from the time of the death of the high priest, to him that had fled into a city of refuge, and the redemption purchased by the death of Christ; between*

*the high priest entering into the holy place every year with the blood of others, and Christ's once entering with his own blood into heaven itself, to appear in the presence of God for us: these, I say, and innumerable other analogies, between the shadows of things to come, of good things to come, the shadows of heavenly things, the figures for the time then present, patterns of things in the heavens, and the heavenly things themselves, cannot, without the force of strong prejudice, be conceived to have happened by mere chance, without any foresight or design'. There are no such analogies, much less such series of analogies found in the books of mere enthusiastic writers living in such remote ages from each other. It is much more credible, and reasonable to suppose, what St Paul affirms, that these things were our examples; and that, in the uniform course of God's government of the world, all these things happened unto them of old for examples, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come: And hence arises that aptness of similitude, in the application of several legal performances to the morality of the gospel, that it can very hardly be supposed not to have been originally intended. Clarke's Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig.*

THE remaining part of this book shall contain remarks on the apostolical constitutions and canons, the Sibylline oracles, and some passages from ancient poets cited by the fathers, the works of Barnabas, and of Hermas, the Recognitions of Clemens, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Epistles of Ignatius, &c.

AMONGST the ancient Christian books which claim our attention are the *apostolical constitutions*, which, if they

they are genuine, are a sacred treatise, and of equal authority with the New Testament; and, if they are not genuine, are an infamous imposture, for which the forger well deserved the punishment inflicted by the Roman laws on the *Falsarii*. *Digest. l. xlviii. Tit. x. 1.*

The authors of them are, it is pretended, the twelve apostles and St Paul gathered together, with Clemens their *amanuensis*. If their authority should appear only ambiguous, it would be our duty to reject them, lest we should adopt as divine doctrines *the commandments of men*; for since each gospel contains the main parts of Christianity; and might be sufficient *to make men wise unto salvation*, there is less danger in diminishing than in enlarging the number of canonical books, and less evil would have ensued from the loss of one of the four gospels, than from the addition of a fifth and spurious one.

But the Constitutions are a medley of old treatises jumbled together, enlarged and adulterated without much wit or judgment by some compiler after the days of Constantine. And yet they have their value, and may be useful on many accounts, and contain several things of antiquity relating to the doctrine and discipline of the church, and extracts from old liturgies, though the whole be so blended with insertions of a later date, that it is now beyond human skill to make the separation with any certainty.

I offered some remarks upon them in *Disc. vi.* on the *Christ. Rel.* and I shall here add a few more.

They have a chapter *Περὶ Χαρισμάτων*, in which they observe, that the word *χάρισμα* means either the gift of working miracles, or the gift of spiritual and Christian graces; that the first is conferred on some, the second

cond on all true Christians ; and that miraculous powers are not so much for the use of Christians, as for the sake and for the conviction of unbelievers, viii. 1. Baptism also and the Lord's supper are sometimes called χαρίσματα. Ignatius saw Polycarp at Smyrna—καὶ πνευμαλικῶν αὐτῷ κοινωνήσας χαρισμάτων—*et quum eum spiritualium charismatum participem fecisset*—Martyr. Ignat. § iii. Πνευματικά χαρίσματα videntur hic significare symbola eucharistica. Certe baptismus non raro apud veteres vocatur χάρισμα. Clericus.

In the form for the ordination of presbyters, they pray that the presbyter may have the gift of healing conferred upon him—ὅπως πλησθεὶς ἐνεργημάτων ἰατρικῶν, ἡ λόγῳ διδαχλικῷ, ἐν πρώτῃ παιδεύῃσιν τὸν λαόν.—*ut repletus operationibus vim sanandi habentibus, ac sermone ad docendum apto, erudiat cum mansuetudine populum tuum.* viii. 16. taken, I suppose, from 1 Cor. xii. 9. ἄλλω δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων.

They introduce the apostles, one or all, sometimes speaking and commanding in their own names, and sometimes citing the New Testament as we now cite it. This single observation is sufficient to overset the book. Jesus Christ, say they, began to *do*, before he began to *teach*, ὡς καὶ λέγει ὁ Λουκᾶς· Ὡν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν. *This is wanting in one of the MSS.* says Le Clerc, *and seems to have been struck out by some critic, who thought it wrong to introduce the apostles citing the testimony of Luke.* But it signified nothing to strike out one passage, whilst five hundred of the same kind were left. Besides, it was all in vain, because, though the citation here were taken away, the allusion to it would remain, ii. 6.

They repeat it over and over, lest Christians should chance to forget it, that a bishop is a god, a god upon earth,



earth, and a king, and infinitely superior to a king, and ruling over rulers and kings. They command Christians to give him tribute as to a king, and to reverence him as a god, and to pay him tythes and first-fruits, according, say they, to God's command; and they strictly forbid Christians to make any enquiry, and to take any notice, whether he disposes of these revenues well or ill, ii. 11. 26. 35. *et passim*: which seems to have been drawn up at a time when there were Christian emperors. Here is strange language indeed! even far beyond all *eminencies* and *holinesses*.

Le Clerc had a suspicion that Leontius, an Arian bishop of the fourth century, was the inventor, or the interpolator of the Constitutions. Le Clerc received the hint from *Thomas Bruno*, who was a learned and ingenious man, and a canon of Windsor in the days of Charles II. The learned Isaac Vossius, who also was canon of Windsor, dedicated to him his book *de Sibyllinis Oraculis*. Bruno conjectured, that Leontius might be the collector of the greater part of the *Apostolical Canons*, and says many things in favour of Leontius. Speaking of the religious controversies in the time of Constantius, which were not very edifying, he says; *Et certe præter unum Athanasium inter orthodoxos, et Léontium inter Arianos, vix ullos reperias homines quadratos, dictis, factis, formulis suis Fidei stantes; sed potius versipelles, chamæleontes, nunc in hanc, nunc in illam partem paratos, prout ferebat animus τῶν πασιδυναστευόντων apud Imperatorem; qui vel eunuchos Imperatores opibus ecclesie et nummis, vel mulierculas ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι sermonum lenociniis et blanditiis pelliciebant in partes suas, omniaque pro libitu suo agebant, ferebant, cæteris majore ex parte, more pecudum, non qua eundum erat,*

*erat, sed qua ibatur, prospicientibus, &c.* Judic. de Canon. in the second vol. of the *Patres Apostolici*.

It is certain that Leontius carried his head high enough. He reprimanded the emperor Constantius for meddling in ecclesiastical affairs, and sent word to the empress Eusebia, who is said to have been haughty, that he would not comply with her request, and pay her a visit, unless she would promise to bow down before him and receive his blessing, and then to stand up whilst he sat, till he should give her leave to sit down ; which put the lady into a violent rage. See Tillemont *Hist. des Emp.* iii. 381. or Le Clerc *Dissert. de Constit.* in the *Patr. Apost.*

I know not whether Leontius learned from the Jews to take this state upon him. Their rabbins say, that the high-priest never went to court but when he had a mind, and that then he sat before the king, and the king stood up in his presence. See Basnage *Hist. des Juifs.* i. 4.

It is, I believe, labour lost to enquire who the compiler was : we can only say of this pretended Clemens, that he was long-lived ; and if any one should ever compile a book *de Macrobiis*, or *de Incredibilibus*, like those of *Phlegon* and *Palcephatus*, he ought to take notice of our author, for he flourished in the first, second, third, and fourth centuries; it is no wonder therefore if his memory failed him sometimes, and if he fell into some small mistakes. But there have been two men since the Christian æra, who in length of days greatly surpassed him ; *Josephus Ben Gorion*, who, according to his own chronology, lived to be a thousand years old ; and the *Wandering Jew*, who was seen by an Armenian bishop five hundred years ago, and is supposed to be still alive, and pursuing his travels.

The

The Constitutions confirm many frivolous precepts by texts of scripture which in these critical days would be thought inconclusive. For example; a vintner's money must not be accepted by the bishop. Why? because Isaias, i. 22. according to the LXX, says, *Thy vintners mix wine with water*, iv. 6. But it would be endless to produce their misinterpreted and misapplied citations of scripture, both canonical and apocryphal.

The antiquity of *Solomon's Song* is sufficiently established by the Hebrew original, and by the version of the LXX, and it is mentioned in the lxxvith Apostolical canon. It has been observed that it is never cited in the New Testament \*. It is mentioned as a book of the Old Testament by Melito, in Eusebius E. H. iv. 26. and Hippolytus and Origen wrote commentaries upon it: whether any Christian before them has cited it, I know not. A writer, whom I need not mention, is for uncanonizing it; but there is nothing new under the sun. Theodorus Mopsuestenus was of the same mind, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries, and was a learned bishop, a bold critic, and an enemy to allegorical interpretations. Leontius of Jerusalem finds great fault with him, and says,—*Imo et sanctorum sanctissimum Canticum canticorum ab omnibus divinarum rerum peritis et ab omnibus Ecclesiis cuncti orbis notum, et a Judeis inimicis crucis Christi in admiratione habitum, libidinose pro sua et mente et lingua meretricia interaretans, sua supra modum incredibili audacia ex libris sacris abscidit*. It seems, Theodorus took the *Spouse* in that book to be one of Solomon's queens. See Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* x. 159.

This

\* Vitringa is of opinion that there are *allusions* to it in the New Testament. *Ad Apocalyps.* iii. 20. p. 158

This Theodorus, and Origen, are looked upon as the fathers of a doctrine, which in the fifth century was called Pelagianism, or Semi-Pelagianism. Cardinal Noris charges them with it in his *Historia Pelagiana*, and I verily believe that he does them no great wrong, and that they had notions entirely different from those of Augustin, and of Jansenius, about predestination, and that the arguments of the bishop of Hippo, or of the bishop of Ypres, would have converted neither the one nor the other.

The Anti-Jansenists of the church of Rome condemn the predestinarian doctrines of Luther, and Calvin, and Jansenius: but excuse Augustin, and pretend to agree with this Latin father, whilst they plainly reject his notions. They are not so ingenuous as the monk, who being pressed with an argument taken from St Paul, replied, that *St Paul might as well have refrained from saying some things which smelt of the faggot*.

Chardin tells us, that the sublimest and best esteemed poetry among the Persians is that which sets out religious subjects in the phrase of libertines. Whether this be applicable to Solomon's Song, I will not take upon me to determine. There are also many passages in the Old, and some in the New Testament, where things spiritual are couched under phrases, which the reserved modesty of modern language will hardly permit us to illustrate.

The Constitutions however twice allude to Solomon's Song, and they seem to have borrowed the allusions from the *larger* epistles of Ignatius.

Heretics, say they, are ἀλωπέκων μερίδες ἢ χαμαιζήλων ἀμπελώνων ἀφανισαί. *vulpium partes, et vinearum humiliorum vastatores*. vi. 13. And again: τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ διαφ-  
θείροντες,



θείροντες, ὡς ἀλώπεκες μικροὶ ἀμπελῶνα. *qui Ecclesiam Dei devastant, sicut parvæ vulpes vineam.* vi. 18.

Ignatius, *Epist. Interpol. ad Philad.* iii. ἔστιν ἀλώπηξ, φθορεὺς ἀμπελῶνος Χριστοῦ. *est vulpes corruptrix vineæ Christi.*

Cantic. ii. 15. Πιάσατε ἡμῖν ἀλώπεκας μικρὰς ἀφανίζοντας ἀμπελῶνας. *Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines.*

So, according to the Constitutions, and the interpolated Ignatius, the *heretics* are *the little foxes who spoil the vineyards*. I blame not the allusion; it is pretty enough, and better than the remark of a commentator whom I will not name, who, explaining 1 Kings x. 22. *Once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks*, says, that by the *apes* we are to understand *heretics* \*. He bears somewhat hard upon the poor ape, who is an occasional conformist, and an imitator of his betters. What would they say to this allusion who reject Solomon's Song, and yet receive the Constitutions, and the larger Epistles of Ignatius?

But it would not be fair to conceal a passage in Theocritus, i. 48.

—ἀμφὶ δέ μιν δὺ' ἀλώπεκες· αἱ μὲν ἀν' ὄρχως  
Φοίβῃ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον.

—*quem circum duce vulpes : altera per ordines vitium*

*Incedit, ledens maturas uvas.*

And v. 112.

Μισῶ τὰς δασυκέρκας ἀλώπεκας, αἱ τὰ Μίκωνος  
Αἰεὶ φοιβῶσαι τὰ ποθέσπερα βραγίζοντι.

*Od.*

\* He might as well have said, since he would allegorize, that the *apes* are *informers* and *back-biters*, for the bite of an ape is reckoned dangerous, and so is the bite of a sycophant. Δῆγμα ζυκοφάντης is mentioned as incurable by Aristophanes, *Plut.* 886.

*Odi densicaudes vulpes, quæ vitis Miconis*

*Semper frequentantes, vesperi ex illis uvas comedunt.*

For here also are foxes spoiling the vineyards; and who knows but somebody may take it into his head to say, that the Constitutions and Ignatius borrowed the hint from the poet?

This interpolated Ignatius cites the Canticles as a sacred book, *Ad Ephes.* xvii. Μῦρον γάρ, φησιν, ἐκκενωθὲν ὀνομά σ'· διὰ τῆτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε, εἰλκυσάν σε, ὁπίσω εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρων σε δραμύμεθα. *Unguentum enim, inquit, effusum est nomen tuum: propterea adolescentulæ dilexerunt te, traxerunt te, post te in odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus.* From *Cant.* i. 3, 4.

It seems to appear from the Constitutions, that the curing of dæmoniacs was a work of time, and that the attempt did not always succeed; for the congregation is made to consist of the clergy, the catechumens, the energumens, or dæmoniacs, the φωλιζόμενοι, or those who were preparing to receive baptism, the penitents, and the faithful; there is a form of prayer for the energumens, that God would deliver them, viii. 7. and it is said, that a dæmoniac may be instructed in the faith, but shall not be received to Christian communion before he be cleansed, unless he be in danger of dying, viii. 32. In a prayer for all mankind, there is a petition for the dæmoniacs—ὕπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ—ὅπως καθαρίσῃς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τῆ πονηρᾶ—*pro iis qui ab Adversario jactantur—ut eos munda a vexatione Mali.* viii. 12. Ἐάν τις δαίμονα ἔχη, κληρικὸς μὴ γινέσθω, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ τοῖς πιστοῖς συνευχέσθω. καθαρισθεὶς δὲ, προσδεχέσθω, ἢ ἐάν ᾧ ἅγιος, γινέσθω. *Si quis Dæmonem habeat, ne fiat Clericus, sed nec una cum fidelibus oret: cum autem purgatus fuerit, recipiatur, et, si dignus extiterit, Clericus fiat.* Canon lxx.

Is

Is it not probable that the ancient Christians accounted mad, and melancholy, and epileptic people to be possessed, at least for the most part? which would greatly increase the number of dæmoniacs. The Jews seem to have received some additional notions concerning evil spirits and their operations from the Chaldeans, and, after their return from the captivity, to have ascribed many diseases and disorders to these invisible agents, besides those which were not to be accounted for by natural causes; and in this the ancient Christians followed them.

Lightfoot says, *Judæis usitatissimum erat morbos quosdam graves, eos præsertim, quibus distortum erat corpus, vel mens turbata et agitata phrenesi, malis spiritibus attribuere.* Hor. Hebr. Hence those swarms of energumens and exorcists mentioned in ecclesiastical history.

The Constitutions perhaps command, but most certainly permit infant-baptism. Βαπτίζετε δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νήπια, καὶ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Θεοῦ. *but baptize even (or also) your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God;* which shews, that infant-baptism was practised when this book was written. There is no eluding this testimony; it signifies nothing to say, that *νήπιον* is a word which may be extended beyond infancy, to thirteen or fifteen years: for, first, Christian education and instruction are mentioned as subsequent to baptism; secondly, in general precepts the obvious and usual signification of the words is to be supposed the intention of the lawgiver; thirdly, it is plain to the last degree, that the word *νήπιος*, or *νήπιον*, will not exclude infants of a day old,

*Ut contra si quis sentiat, nihil sentiat;*

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fourthly.

fourthly, the sentence is partly borrowed from *Ephes.* vi. 4.—*μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ καθεσίᾳ Κυρίου*, but, instead of τέκνα, νήπια is used, as denoting a more tender age. In the prayer for the faithful, a petition is offered up for Christian infants—*τῶν νηπίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας μνημονεύσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος, τελειώσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγάθῃ. Infantium Ecclesie recordemur, uti Dominus eos in timore sui reddat perfectos, et ad mensuram ætatis perducatur.* viii. 10. *τὰ νήπια ἄδρυνον. infantes ad maturam ætatem perduc.* viii. 15. Will any man be so unreasonable as to contend, that νήπια here does not include *babes*, and that infants, before they could walk and speak, were excluded from the benefit and intention of these prayers?

Thus infant-baptism may be proved by the Constitutions; but at the same time the silence of the Scriptures upon this subject, compared with the clear declarations of the Constitutions, shews that these were drawn up after the apostolical age, vi. 15.

It is observable, however, that viii. 32. where directions are given who shall be admitted to baptism, no mention is made of infants.

The Constitutions make the validity of baptism to depend upon a certain form of invocation, and they seem to make it depend also upon the piety of the priest, which is a hard case.

In the ceremonial of baptism, when the person is anointed, there is a form of prayer to be used; for, say they, *ἐὰν μὴ εἰς ἕκασον τέτων ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ τῆ εὐσεβούς ιερίας τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἀποτίθεται μόνον τὸν ῥύπον τῆ σώματος, καὶ τὸν ῥύπον τῆς ψυχῆς. Nisi in unumquodque eorum talis quæpiam invocatio a pio sacerdote adhibeatur, qui baptizatur in aquam tantum descendit, ut Judei, et corporis tantum sordes,*



*non autem anime deponit.* Where Cotelarius says, *Loquitur de baptismate ordinario adultorum, quod nisi sedulo ac rite juxta totam caerimoniam tradatur a pio sacerdote, et suscipiatur a pio catechumeno, anime sordes non depellit, nec suum obtinet effectum.*

In the middle of the third century, great disputes arose concerning rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. The Constitutions and Canons determine, that the baptism administered by heretics is invalid and null, vi. 15. which was the doctrine of Cyprian. In this controversy, no appeal was made to the Constitutions, vii. 44.

The Constitutions represent adultery as a crime which was punished with death ; Εἴ τις ἀδελφὸν λέγων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, ἀπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποιητοῦ κακοποιήσῃ, καὶ ἐλεῖς χεῖρας καλῶς θανάτῳ ὡς μοιχὸς, ἢ φονεὺς, χωρίζεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ—*Si quis se fratrem esse dicens, Diaboli fraude maleficium commiserit, convictusque ad mortem damnatus fuerit, tanquam adulter, aut homicida, digredimini ab illo.* v. 2.

Constantine made a law to punish adultery with death ; and before his time it had not been a capital crime, in that sense, in the Roman empire. The *Lex Julia de Adulteriis coercendis* is discussed in *Digest.* l. xlviii. *Tit.* 5. but we are not clearly informed there what was the punishment. It seems to have been *relegatio*, a kind of banishment. See Tacitus *Ann.* ii. 50. and the notes of *Vertranius*, and *Lipsius* ; *Ann.* iv. 42. and the *Excursus* of *Lipsius*, and *Novell.* cxxxiv. 10. and a Treatise of Gerard Noodt, called *Diocletianus et Maximianus, sive de transactione et pactione criminum.* In some cases, however, the father and the husband had a right to kill the guilty person, surprised in the crime.

I mention not this as an unanswerable objection to the Constitutions, since death might have been the punishment of adultery in some places long before the law of Constantine, and since the adulterous Christian might be no Roman citizen. The best parts of the Constitutions are some of the prayers, taken probably from old liturgies.

The Hellenistic language, as it is called, has been mentioned as a confirmation of the Constitutions. Now this Hellenistic style is nothing more than the style of one who translates a Hebrew book verbally into Greek, or who thinks in Hebrew, and writes in Greek. Suppose any person at any time, whose native language is Greek, who is a Christian, who reads few or no profane authors, who never studied his own tongue, who has frequently perused the Septuagint and the New Testament, and has them almost by heart, who writes upon a religious subject, who is perpetually citing the Scriptures; this person will write in the Hellenistic manner, more or less, and will have Hebrew idioms, even though he should not understand one word of the language, especially if he has a mind to affect that style, which is very easily imitated.

My friend Mr Wasse, if I remember right, used to say, that the style of the Constitutions was Hellenistic. Be this as it will, there are in them abundance of words and phrases never used by the writers of the New Testament, though they afterwards appear in ecclesiastical authors, and some which are not at all in the old Christian style; as for example, ὁ θεὸς Μωσῆς, which seems polite and Pagan, rather than apostolical, vi. 25. The scribbler who is called *Dionysius the Areopagite*, has the same expression, γράφει δὲ ὁ θεός

Θεὸς Ἰγνάτιος. *De Div. Nomin.* And so the *Clementina Epitome*, ὁ Θεὸς Κλήμης. § 157. Ὁ Θεὸς ἀπόστολος, says Clemens Alex. speaking of St Paul, I. p. 287, 602. but he is a learned writer, and borrows a thousand phrases from Pagans.

The Constitutions say that the Jews crucified malefactors, ii. 48. which is not true. See Le Clerc's Hammond on *John* xviii. 31, and Grotius on *Galat.* iii. 13.

They say that Herod ordered Christ to be crucified, which is a mistake, v. 19.

They say that Moses forbad the Jews to read the law out of the borders of their own country, which prohibition is not to be found, vi. 25.

They order widows to stay at home, to be grave, &c. and then they censure those who ramble about, and are busy bodies, and idle talkers, and call them μὴ χήρας, ἀλλὰ πῆρας, *not widows, but beggars wallets*, ἐτοίμους εἰς τὸ λαμβάνειν, *ever ready to receive*. But the beauty of the original is lost in the translation, because the words are nearly alike in sound, and different in sense: so that the jingle cannot be preserved. It is as if we should say in English, such widows behave themselves not *godly*, but *odly*, iii. 6.

They say that a rich covetous man is like a dragon guarding a treasure, which emblem is borrowed from those profane authors whom they forbid Christians to read, iv. 4.

*Vulpis cubile fodiens, dum terram eruit,—  
Pervenit ad draconis speluncam ultimam,  
Custodiebat qui thesauros abditos.*

Phædrus iv. 19.

*Largiris nihil, incubasque gaze,*

*Ut magnus draco, quem canunt poëtae  
Custodem Scythici fuisse luci.*

Martial. xii. 53.

They teach the resurrection of the same *numerical* body, a doctrine concerning which the Scriptures are certainly silent, v. 7.

They are heretics, say they, who make the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be one and the same person, and Jesus to be τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν. This is supposed to be levelled against Simon Magus, but it is much more probable that it is against the Sabellians, vi. 26.

Having ordered Christians to honour the martyrs, they caution them not to honour false martyrs. If by ψευδομάρτυρες they only meant persons who perjured themselves, and bare false witness, as their citations may seem to imply, the caution was extremely ridiculous: but it is more probable that they meant either schismatics, or unfortunate men, mistaken in some points of faith, whom they would not allow to be martyrs, though they died for the name of Christ, and though they might have lived, if they would have renounced him; such, for example, as the Novatians, v. 9.

They make St John say, *I got up, ἀναστὰς ἐγὼ, and leaning upon Christ's breast, I asked him, &c.* As they reclined on couches before the table, St John was seated the next below his master, so that the back of his head was against the breast of Christ. He had therefore no occasion to get up, but only to raise himself, and turn his head a little when he spake to Christ. v. 14.

They make St John affirm, that σὺ εἶπας, *thou hast said*, is not the same as *yes*, v. 14.

They take much from the *Epistle of Barnabas*, for it is improbable that Barnabas should plunder them,  
and



and never own or hint the obligation. Now Barnabas wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem.

They say at the end of a prayer—*Gather us into thy kingdom.* Ἀὕτη μαρναθά, i. e. *Hæc venit Dominus*, which is little to the purpose : consult the notes there. In the same prayer they say, ὁ δυναῖς Θεός, ὁ πιστός καὶ ἀληθινός, καὶ ἀψευδής ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· which looks as if it were taken from Polycarp's prayer—ὁ ἀψευδής καὶ ἀληθινός Θεός. p. 201. *Ed. Cler.* vii. 26.

The invocation after the communion begins thus, Δέσποτα ὁ Θεός,—ὁ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπιστάμενος τὰς ἐντελλὰς—*Domine Deus—cognitor precum etiam eorum qui tacent.* The expression is elegant and noble, but it seems to be taken from an old *Delphic oracle*, in Herodotus, i. 47.

Καὶ κοφῆ συνίημι, καὶ ὃ φανεῦνός ἀκούω.

*Mutum percipio, fantis nihil audio vocem.*

viii. 15.

They insert in a prayer, *The holy angels say to thee,* εἰς ἅγιος τῷ Φελμωνεῖ. It is taken from *Daniel* viii. 13. Καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνός ἁγίου λαλῆντος· καὶ ἔειπεν εἰς ἅγιος τῷ Φελμωνεῖ τῷ λαλῶντι ὥς πρότε, &c. As it is introduced in the Constitutions, it is neither better nor worse than gibberish, and he who put it in did not understand it, vii. 35.

They say that the *Golden Calf* was the Egyptian *Apis*, and so says the author of the *Recognitions*, i. 35. which, if true, was yet more than they could certainly know, unless we should grant them to have had it by inspiration, i. 6. vi. 20.

They relate Peter's combat with Simon, in which he shot the magician flying, and brought him down to the ground. The false *Hegesippus*, and one *Abdias*, in his *Historia Apostolica*, confirm it likewise : So we have no less than three witnesses for it ; but they are,

*Sardi venales, alius alio nequior.*

The first author, fit to be named, who speaks of it, is Arnobius, and he comes too late. Cotelerius in his notes on the Constitutions, very honestly declares himself to be a doubter, and gives the reader leave to reject the story : but Tillemont is not so indulgent, and comes upon us with a formidable list of vouchers : *Quand il seroit vray que cette histoire seroit une fiction, nous aimerions mieux, tant qu'on n'aura point de preuve claire et convaincante de sa fausseté, nous tromper en ce point avec Arnobe, S. Cyrille de Jerusalem, les legats du Pape Libere, S. Ambroise, S. Augustin, S. Isidore de Peluse, S. Theodoret, et plusieurs autres, que d'estre obligez d'accuser d'une credulité indiscrete un grand nombre des plus illustres maitres de l'Eglise Latine et Greque.* Hist. Eccl. i. p. 178.

He who will believe all that he finds related by the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, should be provided with a double portion of credulity, and have the stomach of an ostrich to digest fables. But the fathers here mentioned were not the inventors of this combat, they stand clear of such a charge, and are only to be blamed for paying too much regard to traditionary reports, or to some fabulous author. Leucius was in all probability the inventor of this lie, as Beausobre conjectures, *Hist. de Man.* i. 396. One would think that the silence of the fathers before Arnobius were alone a sufficient reason to reject this story, and particularly the silence of Eusebius, who wrote after Arnobius ; and their silence shews, at the same time, that they knew nothing, or believed nothing of the Constitutions.

Let it be observed, to the honour of Eusebius, that of all the ancient ecclesiastical historians, he has  
obtruded

obtruded the least trash upon his readers, and that he has also shut out from the scriptures of the New Testament all spurious, dubious, and Apocryphal authors, all Apostles falsely so called, whom he served as Jupiter did Vulcan,

Ῥίψε, ποδὸς τεταγών, ἀπὸ βηλῆ θεσπεσίῳ. \*

ii. 14. vi. 9.

The Constitutions call the name of Christ, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινόν—from Isa. lxii. 2. which yet looks also like an allusion to Rev. ii. 17. ὄνομα καινόν. iii. 12.—τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. and they say that the church of Christ is νύμφη κεκαλλωπισμένη Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, perhaps from Rev. xxi. 2. ἡτοίμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. And yet the seventy-sixth *Apostolical Canon* mentions not the Revelation amongst the books of the New Testament. ii. 15. 25. The same Canon ascribes to St Paul the epistle to the Hebrews.

They say that *tithes* are due to the clergy, because Ἰῶτα, which stands for ten, is the first letter of the name of Jesus. Many of the clergy would be in a poor condition, if they had no better claim to them, ii. 25.

They give an interpretation of the proper name *Israel*, concerning which see the notes, vii. 36.

They abound with citations of the Scriptures, and are remarkable for an exuberant profusion of words, and a most tiresome repetition of the same things, which shews that in all probability they are not one man's invention, but a medley.

They not only heap passages of Scripture one upon another, but where the thing might have been alluded to in three words, they transcribe whole pages:—*aliter non fit liber.*

After

\* Hur'd headlong tumbling from th' ætherial sky.

After having censured all the other Jewish sects, they give the Essenes a good character, οἱ δὲ τῶν πάντων ἱαυτοὺς χωρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ πατρία φυλάσσοντες, εἰσὶν Ἐσσαῖοι. *Qui vero ab iis omnibus separarunt se, ac patrios ritus servant, Essæi sunt.* vi. 6.

When the Jews were returned from Babylon, and before the coming of Christ, three sects arose amongst them, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes ; of which, though none were good, the Sadducees were the worst, the Pharisees the best, and the Essenes superstitious fanatics.

The Sadducees were of opinion, that they neither wanted nor received any divine assistance for the performance of their duty ; that the rewards and the punishments which God had denounced, were only temporal ; that there were neither angels nor spirits, nor resurrection, nor future state, but that the whole man perished at death. It has been supposed, but not sufficiently proved, that they rejected not only the traditions of the elders, but the writings of the prophets \*, and all the sacred books, except the Law : so thought Jerom, and many of the fathers.

Our Saviour proved a future state to the Sadducees from a text in the books of Moses, where God is called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after they were dead. Hence it has been inferred, that the Sadducees rejected the prophets ; else, say they, Christ would have appealed to the prophets, who teach this doctrine more fully. But why so ? From the words of Moses cited by our Saviour, the doctrine of a future

\* When Josephus says that the Sadducees observed nothing besides *the laws*, he seems to oppose the *written laws* to the *traditions* only, not to the *prophets*. See *Antiq.* XIII. x. 6. XVIII. i. 4. *Edit. Haverc.*



ture state may as clearly be deduced, as from any one single text which can be produced out of any one of the prophets. The Sadducees might pay a greater regard to Moses than to the other prophets, and yet not reject them neither. Besides, as the Sadducees, in their discourse with Christ, raised an objection to another state from a passage in Moses, Christ chose to answer them from the same author. *Hoc fundamento usi sunt Sadducei, Nullum articulum fidei admittendum esse, qui non ex libris Mosaicis probari posset. Reliquos autem Scripturæ libros ipsi legebant, et ita interpretabantur, ut fundamento suo contradicere non viderentur.* Pearson *Vindic. Ignat.* c. vii. Basnage is of the same opinion, *Hist. des Juifs*, ii. 6. *Tota religio consistit in libris Mosis: in cæteris nullum fidei seu Legis dogma statuitur*, says Orobinus, who yet was no Sadducee, but rather, like most of his brethren, a follower of the Pharisees.

The greatest sect of the Jews was that of the Pharisees, and in many respects it seems to have been the best also. The *Constitutions* charge them with fatalism, and so doth Epiphanius, and some other ancients, a charge which perhaps they could not have made good. They ought rather to have ascribed this notion to the Essenes; for the Essenes were strict predestinarians, but the Pharisees, like the Semi-Pelagians, thought that divine assistance and human liberty co-operated and were reconcileable. So says Josephus \*, who was better acquainted with them than the obscure author of the *Constitutions*. The principal fault, in point of doctrine, belonging to the Pharisees was a zeal for the traditions of the elders; and  
though

\* B. J. II. viii. 14. *Antiq.* XIII. v. 9. XVIII. i. 3. *The Pharisees*, says Prideaux, *held a free will in conjunction with predestination.*

though this unwritten law was, as we may well suppose, a heap of lies, nonsense, and superstition, they paid more regard to it than to the word of God.

But if we consider the ignorance and corruption which then prevailed amongst the Jews, we must acknowledge, that the Pharisees and their disciples were by no means the worst part of the nation. St Paul bears them this testimony : *According to the strictest (the exactest) sect of our religion*, says he, *I lived a Pharisee*. Our Saviour declares concerning them : *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat : all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe and do, that observe and do ; but do not ye after their works, for they say and do not* \*.

In many places of Scripture, where it is said, Do this, but do not that, or, This shall be, but that shall not be, the words are to be understood, not absolutely, but comparatively ; so that the meaning here may be ; Of the two, it is better and safer to do what the Scribes and Pharisees † teach, than what they do ; for their doctrine, even such as it is, is preferable to their practice ; and particularly, when they interpret the precepts of Moses, that is, the written law, not the oral law, and the traditions of the elders.

The Pharisees asserted the soul's immortality, and a life to come. In this they deserved some praise, when compared with the Sadducees who rejected these doctrines. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this belief, though mixed with erroneous notions, might have  
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\* Matt. xxiii. 2.

† The Scribes and Pharisees : that is, says a learned friend of mine, the *Scribes*, who were so by their profession, and were *Pharisees* by their sect. The *Pharisees*, as *Pharisees*, did not sit in the seat of Moses : the *Scribes* did, whether Pharisees or not.

an influence upon their behaviour, and make them in some respects and upon some occasions better than those who thought that the soul and body perished together.

To this belief and this disbelief of a future state may perhaps be ascribed the different behaviour of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees after the ascension of our Lord : for then the resurrection of Christ, and the general resurrection of the dead, and a day of judgment and retribution was constantly and particularly taught by the apostles ; and therefore the Sadducees were their opposers and persecutors, whilst the Pharisees were more inclined to protect them and side with them, and many of the first Jewish converts to Christianity seem to have consisted of this sect. But as Christ, during his ministry, often preached against the traditions of the Pharisees, and denounced woes against them, they were his chief adversaries.

It may be asked why Christ did not more frequently censure the faults and errors of the Sadducees, who were worse than the Pharisees. One reason seems to have been this, that the Pharisees were the most numerous and the most learned sect, and had the greatest influence over the common people ; therefore it was most expedient that the reformation should begin amongst them, and that their followers and admirers should be undeceived, and cautioned not to repose too great a confidence in them.

Another reason was, because the peculiar defects of that sect soon crept into Christianity, and remain in it to this day ; but the Sadducees were a sect which declined and came to nothing, or to very little \*, after the

\* Justin indeed mentions the Sadducees in his *Dial.* with *Trypho.* See Basnage *Hist. des Juifs*, ii. 7.



the destruction of Jerusalem. Most of the Sadducees who escaped that calamity, probably became apostates and Pagans, a change for which they were too well prepared ; and most of the Jews at this time are of the sect of the Pharisees.

The bad character which is given in the scriptures of the Pharisees, ought not to be extended to all who were of that party. It is enough if the majority of them, if the most eminent in authority were very wicked. There were without question several among them mistaken in many things, and carried into faults by the prevailing notions of the sect, yet men of sincerity, and of virtuous dispositions.

*Notre Seigneur a témoigné plus de mépris contre les Pharisiens, que contre les Sadducéens. C'est aux Pharisiens, qu'il en veut en tout et par tout, c'est contre eux qu'il lance ses plus sévères censures, c'est eux qu'il tâche de décrier. Pourquoi cela ? C'est qu'encore qu'ils fussent plus orthodoxes, ils avoient le cœur plus gâté d'hypocrisie et d'orgueil, ce qui les rendoit plus incapables de se convertir à l'Evangile.* Bayle *Pensées diverses* § 186. I think the reasons which I have assigned are more probable than these.

As to the Essenes, who are said in the Constitutions to have adhered to the religious rites and customs of their ancestors, and who are never mentioned by the sacred writers, it is well known that they neglected some ceremonial laws, and that they observed many foolish austerities, many fantastical and superstitious institutions of their own. Thus, for example, they accounted it a heinous crime to ease nature on the Sabbath-day, as Josephus testifies, who should also have informed us what they did in cases of urgent necessity, which will sometimes happen. As the Sabbatic River,



River, mentioned by Josephus, B. J. vii. 5. was dry for six days, and flowed plentifully on the seventh, so, on the contrary, the Essenes were open for six days, and shut on the seventh. But some of the learned think that this marvellous and most religious river flowed at other times, and rested on the Sabbath, and that there is a fault in the text of Josephus: see the notes there. If so, the parallel is better between the *Fluvius Sabbaticus*, and the *Podex Sabbaticus*.

The Essenes, says Josephus, on the Sabbath day ἔδει σκευδὺς τι μελαχινῆσαι θάρρῶσιν, ἔδει ἀποπαλεῖν. *neque vas ullum loco movere audent, nec alvum exonerare*. B. J. ii. 8.

Porphyry says of them, Τοσαύτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ λιτότης ἢ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἢ ἡ ὀλιγότης, ὥς ἐν τῇ ἐβδομαδί μὴ δεῖσθαι κενώσεως, ἢν τηρεῖν εἰσθασι εἰς ὕμνος τῷ Θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν. *Et quidem tanta ipsorum est in victu frugalitas, atque parsimonia, ut ne septimana quidem integra egerendi sit ulla necessitas: quam sibi abstinentiæ legem dixere, partim ut ad hymnos Deo concinendos aptiores sint, partim ut faciliiori utantur somno*. Apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 3.

Vigerus, the translator, though he was a learned man, fell into an absence of mind, which will sometimes happen to us all, and did not perceive that ἐβδομας here means, not *a week*, but the *Sabbath-day*, by which mistake he was led from one error into another to the end of the sentence, and made the Essenes wonderful people indeed, and like Milton's angels, who void what they eat by insensible perspiration. The sense is; *The Essenes used so plain and spare a diet, that they had no occasion to disburden on the Sabbath, a day which they kept as a day of rest, and which they spent in singing religious hymns*.

The Essenes and Pharisees agreed in one respect very well, in being superstitious observers of trifles, and  
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the authors of the *Constitutions* seems to have had some portion of the same spirit. *La nation Judaïque a été livrée à un tel esprit de puériles, et de chimeriques observations, que leurs plus graves Docteurs ont étendu le Rituel jusques aux actions les plus machinales, comme est celle d'aller au privé. Malheur à qui ne sçait pas bien s'orienter; car les quatre points cardinaux de l'horison ne sont pas également favorables. Je ne puis dire qu'en Latin le reste de leurs ridicules superstitions. Dixit R. Akiba, ingressus sum aliquando post Rabbi Josuam in sedis secretæ locum, et tria ab eo didici. Didici 1, quod non versus orientem et occidentem, sed versus septentrionem et austrum convertere nos debeamus. Didici 2, quod non in pedes erectum, sed jam consistentem, se retegere liceat. Didici 3, quod podex non dextra, sed sinistra manu abstergendus sit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Hasas; Usque adeo vere perfricuisti frontem erga magistrum tuum ut cacantem observares? Respondit ille, Legis hæc arcana sunt ad quæ discenda id necessario mihi agendum fuit. Ex Barajetha, &c. Voila un merveilleux Docteur, qui, même sur sa chaise percée, expliquoit sans dire mot les mysteres de la Loi. Bayle, Dict. AKIBA.*

Hammond, in his notes on 1 Cor. v. 5. speaking of the diseases and torments which in the apostolical times seized those persons who were excommunicated, and delivered up to Satan, says, *Josephus simile quidpiam inter Essenos fuisse dicit, his verbis, &c. Upon which Le Clerc remarks; Quod Josephus de Essenis refert, id potest ita intelligi, ut excommunicatus ex mœrore interissee dicatur, non miraculosa vi excommunicationis; quod tamen si credidisset Josephus, non esset nefas ei fidem abrogare.*

It happens well for Josephus, that he has not affirmed so foolish a thing. He only says, Τὴς δὲ ἐπ' ἀξιοχρείαις ἀμαρτήμασιν ἀλόντας ἐκβάλλουσι τὰ τάγματός· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθείς, οἰκίστη πολλὰκις μόρῳ διαφθείρεται. τοῖς γὰρ ὄρχοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεδυμένος, ἔδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς δύναται μελαμβάανειν, ποικρατῶν δὲ ἢ λιμῶ τὸ σῶμα τηκόμενος διαφθείρεται. διὸ δὴ πολλὰς ἐπέσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ἀνέλαβον, ἰκανὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον ἡγούμενοι. *Deprehensos vero in peccatis gravioribus ex ordine suo ejiciunt, isque cui contigit e cœtu ejici, non raro mortem obit miserrimam. Nam juramentis et ritibus obligatus ne aliorum quidem escis uti potest; sed dum herbas comedit, corpus fame tubescit, atque ita interit. Quam ob rem etiam ipsi plurimos miserati, extremum jam agentes spiritum receperunt; pro peccatis satis pœnarum, quod ad mortem usque fuerint cruciati, dedisse existimantes.* B. J. II. viii. 8.

We see here, that the excommunicated Essenes died, neither of any miraculous distemper, nor yet of grief, but were starved to death, because they dared not to eat with other people, being bound by the oaths which they had taken, oaths which were superstitious, stupid, and unlawful.

One branch of the Essenes had a most uncharitable opinion of the female sex, and thought that a woman could scarcely be found who was faithful to her husband; and therefore they would not marry. How could they observe the commandment which says, *Honour thy father and thy mother*, who entertained such hard sentiments of their mothers?

It is a conjecture of Van Dale, which, whether it be true or not, is ingenious and plausible, that Sadduceism owed its birth to the traditionary doctrines of the Jews. These traditions were so excessively impertinent, such quintessential, treble-refined folly, and



yet so dogmatically enforced by haughty Pharisees and prating doctors, as importances, that some of the nation who could not endure to be treated at this overbearing rate, rebelled, and became free-thinkers, and flew out as far into the opposite extreme, and rejected the soul's immortality, as a doctrine not clearly delivered in the scriptures, supported by tradition, and proceeding from that muddy fountain of everlasting nonsense. Miserable spirit of contradiction ! Because a man would deprive me of common sense, I must, in resentment, throw away my religion ! this is fulfilling in a very bad way the precept, *If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.*

The Constitutions forbid Christians to wear a gold ring, and to shave their beards, which must have disgusted the Roman knights, and the Roman barbers. The true reason of the latter prohibition is this ; it is said in *Leviticus* xix. 27. *Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.* It is a wonder that they did not command Christians to keep the back door shut on Sundays, according to the laudable custom of the *Es-senes*.

The Constitutions, from the beginning to the end, turn Christianity into a mere ceremonial law, i. 3.

They prove the resurrection by the pretty amusing story of the *phœnix* \* ; though indeed they warrant not the truth of it, but introduce the *phœnix* with an *ὡς αὐτοί φασι*, and they cite the *Sibylline oracles* as prophecies, and ten verses from them which clearly foretell the resurrection of the dead, the conflagration of the world,

\* And yet even honest Herodotus, who was inclined enough to give into the marvellous, rejected the story of the *Phœnix* :—*ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔτιςτὰ λόγοντες.* *Ἑc.* ii. 73.



world, and the judgment at the last day, and which are manifestly the manufacture of a Christian :

Ἄλλ' ὅπότ' ἦδη πάντα τέφρα σποδούσσα γένηται,  
 Καὶ πῦρ κοιμίσῃ Θεὸς ἄφθιτος, ὅσπερ ἀνῆψεν,  
 Ὅσέα καὶ σποδοῖν αὐτὸς Θεὸς ἔμπαλιν ἄνδρα  
 Μορφώσῃ, σῆσῃ δὲ βροτὰς πάλιν ὡς πᾶρος ἦσαν,  
 Καὶ τότε διὰ κρίσις ἔσαι, ἐφ' ἣ δικάσῃ Θεὸς αὐτοὺς;  
 Κρίνων ἔμπαλιν κόσμον· ὅσοι δ' ὑπὸ δυσσεβίῃσιν  
 Ἡμαρτον θνήσκει, τὰς δ' αὖ πάλι γαῖα καλύψει.  
 Ὅσοι δ' εὐσεβέουσιν, πάλιν ζήσονται ἐν κόσμῳ,  
 Πνεῦμα Θεῷ δόντος, ζῶν δ' ἅμα καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς  
 Εὐσεβέσιν· πάντες τε τότε εἰσόψονται ἑαυτοὺς.

*Omnia sed postquam in cineres collapsa jacebunt,  
 Æternumque Deus succensum extinxerit ignem,  
 Inque hominem Deus ipse iterum formaverit ossa,  
 Et cineres, mortalibus, ut fuerant, renovatis :  
 Judicium tunc certo erit, in quo jus feret æquum  
 Ipse Deus, mundi judex : ac qui impietate  
 Peccarint, iterum injecta tellure tegentur :  
 Contra iterum in mundo vivent pietatis amici,  
 Sanctis dante Deo vitam, flatum, atque favorem.  
 Se tunc agnoscent omnes, seseque videbunt.*

Κρίνων κόσμον—is ecclesiastical Greek. v. 7.

It is remarkable that the author of the Constitutions, who thus cites the Sibyl, as a prophetess of good authority, at least as one fit to convince the Pagans, yet treats her with contempt (according to some copies) and calls her, not Σιβύλλα, but Ἀβύλλα, or *crazy tool*, which reading Cotelerius has admitted into the text. If the *old woman* had been alive, she might have replied to *Pseudo-Clemens*,

*Parcius ista, Pater, tamen objiciendi memento.*

It would not be suitable to good manners to reproach a lady for pronouncing or spelling a word wrong, and

therefore I am almost afraid to observe, that in the second line the prophetess has made a false quantity, for the *penultima* in κοιμίση is short. Perhaps the place was corrupted by the librarian, with whom we make free, and call him a blunderer. He should have written κοιμήση, or κοιμίσση. In Homer *Odyss.* M. 372, some editions give us

Ἦ με μάλ' εἰς ἄτην κοιμίσαιε νηλεῖ ὕπνῳ.

But there it has been changed into κοιμήσαιε. Menander also, *Fragm.* p. 2. has

Ἐκαστος ἡμῶν, καὶ συνηγωνίσασθαι.

Which Bently changed into συνηγωνίζετο. Le Clerc endeavoured in vain to defend the common reading against him by the passage in Homer cited above. Le Clerc has committed some faults in his edition of *Menander* and *Philemon*, because he had not sufficiently considered the laws of prosody: but they who made those laws their study, and reproached him for his ignorance of them, were not able to keep themselves free from such faults, as might easily be shewed. The small and trifling blemishes of this kind in Le Clerc are covered and amply compensated by other productions, for which he deserves, and will receive praise and honour:

*Th' estate which wits inherit after death.*

It were easy to make many more objections to the Constitutions, but others \* have done it sufficiently, and perhaps it is not right to wage war with the dead:

*Nullum cum victis certamen et æthere cassis.*

THE Apostolical Canons, though some of them may be ancient, and composed in the second and third centuries, are not apostolical in the strict sense of the word,

\* See Turner's Discourse on the Constitutions.

word, and are interpolated in several places, as Beverege himself confesses, who undertook their defence, and made the most he could of them. See his *Cod. Can. Vindic. L. I. cap. x. 4.*

Canon I. Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπων χειροτονείσθω δύο ἢ τριῶν.

*Quinque doctores et prophetas Antischice congregatos esse traditur. Act. xiii. 1. Barnabam, Symeonem Nigrum, Lucium, Manahem, et Sautum.—Dicebat Spiritus sanctus, Ἀφορίσάτε δὴ μοι τὸν τε Βαρνάβαν καὶ τὸν Σαῦλον—et protinus subjungitur, τότε νησεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν. E quinque igitur hic congregatis duo, Barnabas et Saulus, ordinati sunt: reliqui sunt ergo tres soli qui ordinarunt. Chrysostomus autem in loco ait, ὅρα πάλιν ὑπὸ τίνων χειροτονεῖται, ὑπὸ Λουκίου καὶ Μαριᾶν, ac si Symeon ordinationi non interesset. Sed intererat haud dubie; quod etiam exinde constat, quod non in duali sed plurali numero dicitur, νησεύσαντες, προσευξάμενοι, ἐπιθέντες, adeo ut tres tunc temporis, non plures, nec pauciores, ordines conferebant. Beverege.*

To all these arguments I chuse to say nothing: I only make a small grammatical remark, that in Greek, a verb in the plural is frequently joined to two nominative cases singular, and a participle plural with two substantives singular, and that the dual number is not once used in all the New Testament, which Beverege had forgotten, or had not observed.

What sort of opinion Beverege had concerning the authority of these Canons, and whether he thought that Christians were obliged to observe them, is not very material to know: he seems to have entertained a great veneration for them. He says, that by establishing the antiquity of the Canons, *hoc etiam boni commodique et nobis et aliis quibuscunque, se primitivorum Christiano-*

*rum moribus conformes gerere cupientibus, emerget ; quod præ oculis habeamus, quia ratione vitam nostram ad eorum exemplar instituamus—p. 76.*

The primitive Christians deserve to be honoured on many accounts, and imitated in many things, and the same ought to be said of this learned and pious bishop ; but, after all that can be said, the authors of these Canons were fallible men ; and it would be better for a Christian to take the precepts of Christ, and the undoubted writings of the apostles for the rule of his faith and practice, and to conform to primitive Christianity, just as far as primitive Christianity is conformable to scripture and to reason, and not to ascribe a sacred and apostolical authority to a set of unknown Canon and Constitution-makers.

Beverege ascribes a kind of apostolical authority to the L. Canon, which requires of the bishops and presbyters that they should make use of a threefold immersion in baptism, under pain of being deposed. *Aliquo tamen modo*, says he, *id ab apostolis traditum negare non ausi sumus ; utpote quod a sanctis Patribus nec semel assertum legimus.* The testimony of the fathers in matters of tradition, is not always to be depended upon. But did our author himself use to conform to this Canon ?

The LXIX. Canon strictly requires the observation of the Quadragesimal fast under spiritual pains and penalties : and this, together with other stated fasts, Beverege takes to have been of apostolical institution. It is not probable that the apostles enjoined such things as absolutely necessary ; things of that kind are more properly subjects for counsels than for precepts. To be temperate, and to keep the passions and appetites in due subjection, is the duty of all men :  
abstinence



abstinence from food is so far good as it is found to conduce to this end ; but what suits one climate and one constitution, and one age of life, suits not another.

The legislative spirit began to operate betimes; and when the church made laws, relating to doctrines and opinions, which were not to be found in the New Testament, the *Codex* became very bulky, and there was no end of law-making : How should there ?

Some body once asked a scholar, what was the meaning of *ff*, which stands for the *Digests*, or *Pandects*, and was told that it meant *Farrago Farraginum*. The answerer was not in earnest : nor am I.—but Tacitus says somewhere : *Corruptissima Republica plurimæ leges*. And so much for this subject.

THE Sibylline oracles were composed at different times, by different persons, first by Pagans, and then perhaps by Jews, and certainly by Christians. See the collections concerning them made by Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* i. p. 167. an author, whose memory all the learned world ought to bless, and to whom they should wish

—*tenuem et sine pondere terram,*

*Spirantesque crocos, et in urna perpetuum ver.*

Justin Martyr, *Cohort. ad Græcos* 38, mentions the Sibyl as clearly foretelling the coming and the actions of Christ. *His verbis*, says the last editor, *Sibyllini, quales hodie extant, libri indicantur, in quibus tam aperta est rerum a Christo gerendarum prædictio, ut eam ex eventis fictam fuisse vix quisquam hodie non fateatur.* Præf. p. 70. and in the notes, *Nihil sane suspicatus est Justinus quamvis omnes horum librorum pagine fraudem clamitent.* Thus the Benedictin, compelled by hard necessity, who would have defended both the Sibylline oracles, and

and his friend Justin who cited them, if he had been able. It ought however to be observed, that some persons, of at least as much learning and as much judgment as he, have suspected the genuineness of the *Cohortatio*.

The Sibylline oracles seem to have been all, from first to last, and without any one exception, mere impostures.

We have a collection of them in eight books, which abound with phrases, words, facts, and passages taken from the LXX. and the New Testament, and are a remarkable specimen of astonishing impudence, and miserable poetry.

It was a pleasant conceit of Possevin, in his *Apparatus sacer*, that a choice ought to be made of passages from these oracles, with proper notes, which might be used in schools. It would greatly perplex any man of learning to make a choice where all is so bad; he would be like *Buridan's ass*, between two bundles of *musty hay*.

Is. Vossius, the patron of Sibylline Oracles, *forged*, as he pretended, by *divinely inspired Jews*, would yet have given them up as bad compositions, and void of all elegance. *Siquis*, says he, *Græcos qui supersunt Judæorum consulat versus, prorsus illos similes fuisse inveniet, ac fuere veterum Christianorum carmina, quæ, si unum et alterum excipias, istiusmodi sunt, ut Scaliger sibi in sterquilinio versari videretur, quotiescunque ad ea legendu se conferret.* De Sibyll. c. 9. This is true enough: Nor does he attempt to defend the present collection. *Quæ olim a Patribus Christianis lecta fuere, et etiamnum supersunt et leguntur oracula, longe a me abest ut omnia ea ejusdem generis et auctoritatis esse existimem, ac fuere ea de quibus hactenus sumus locuti.* In his quippe quæ Christi natiuitatem præcessere Sibyllinis,

*ea solum continebantur, quæ ex Prophetarum scriptis deprompta essent vaticinia. At vero in illis, quæ vulgo leguntur, ea quoque occurrunt, quæ non ab aliis, quam ab iis, potuerunt conscribi, qui centum et viginti demum annis Christo facere posteriores.* And he concludes that the old oracles were enlarged and interpolated by Christians. c. 8.

Mention is made by various writers of a Sibyl, who prophesied before the Trojan war, and from whom Homer took many lines, and particularly this prophecy, Il. r. 307.

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,

Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοὶ κεν μέλοπισθε γένωνται.

Which Virgil thus imitates, and accommodates to his own plan :

*Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,*

*Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*

Others have said that Homer himself was endued with a prophetic spirit when he wrote those lines. Others have observed a great affinity of style between Homer and the Sibylline verses, and thence have concluded that the poet was a plagiarist \*. Strange ! that men of letters could talk at this idle rate. Of all the ancient poets, Homer, who has a great simplicity, is perhaps the most easy to be imitated in point of bare diction and versification, and many persons are capable of closely copying him, or some other poet, as to style and numbers, who have no bright genius or invention, and are incapable of composing an elegant poem : but after all, the Sibylline oracles are just as like

\* Clemens Alexandrinus charges Homer with taking verses from Orpheus and Musæus, instead of suspecting that these were later writers, under false names, who pillaged Homer. *Strom.* vi. p. 738. 751.

like Homer, as the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* are like Cicero's Epistles to *Atticus*.

Homer's prophecy is indeed remarkable, and might afford some observations not quite so childish as those above mentioned. We may conjecture,

1. That the poet went to Troy, *i. e.* to the region so called, and carefully surveyed the place, and the country about it; and indeed in his *Ilias*, he paints and describes\*, as one who knew every spot of ground:

2. That the residue of the Trojans, after the departure of the Greeks, assembled together, and settled in their own country, under Æneas:

3. That when Homer came to Troy, a prince reigned there who was descended from Æneas, and might be his grand-son:

4. That this prince treated Homer kindly, and gave him some memoirs and informations concerning the Trojan chiefs, and particularly concerning his own ancestor:

5. That therefore Homer frequently celebrates Æneas as the son of a goddess, a warrior of great bravery, and of an amiable character, and one much favoured and beloved by the gods: he also mentions some particularities concerning him, as that Priamus † did not love and honour him according to his deserts:

6. That Homer lived at least ninety years after the Trojan war.

The most ancient writer who speaks of the Sibyl is Heraclitus, about 500 years before Christ, after which she

\* Ἔστι δὲ τις προπάροιθε πόλεως αἰπιῖα κολώνη. *Il. B. 811.*

† — αἰεὶ γὰρ Πριάμῳ ἐπεμήνιε δίῳ,

οὐνεκ' αἶψ' ἐσθλὸν ἔοι' αὖ μὲλ' ἀνδράσιν, ἔτι τίσκεν.



she and her predictions are mentioned by Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, and who not.

The sum of the judgment which Fabricius, after a diligent examination, formed upon this subject is as follows :

I. *Nothing is more uncertain than what is related of the number of Sibyls, whether there was one or more.*

II. *Concerning the Sibyls, some think that they were inspired of God; others that they were possessed by evil spirits; others that they were assisted by a strong imagination and enthusiasm, and a kind of natural divination; to which must be added a fourth opinion, that these oracles were all fraud and human imposture, and that if any of them were ever fulfilled, it was by hazard.*

III. *It seems an assertion too confident, to ascribe all the prophecies of the Sibyl and of other Pagans to knavery or chance, and it is more reasonable to suppose, that sometimes there might be something preternatural in the case.*

IV. *In the time of Cicero, there were some Sibylline oracles which were Acrostichs, and which, as Cicero observes, were the labour of a plodding impostor, and not the prophecy of an inspired person.*

V. *The Romans had Sibylline oracles in the time of their kings, which were kept with great care in the capitol, and consulted afterwards upon important occasions. They were burned with the capitol, A. U. C. 670. and the Romans got a new collection from various places.*

VI. *This second collection was burnt by Stilicho in the time of Honorius.*

VII. *Besides these collections, there were other Sibylline oracles made and handed about from time to time.*

VIII. *In Virgil's fourth Eclogue;*

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas :

Carmen

*Carmen Cumæum* probably means *Hesiod's poem*, as *Probus* thinks, and *ultima ætas* is the same as *prima*, and means the Saturnian times, and the golden age : Or, *ultima ætas* means the last, the iron age ; and then *venit* is *fruit*, *præteriit* is passed and gone. *Virgil* took nothing here from the *Sibylline Oracles*.

IX. Our present collection contains not the books which were offered to *Tarquin* ;

X. Nor the second set of oracles which were brought to *Rome* ;

XI. Nor those oracles which were received by the *Pagans*.

XII. Nothing contained in it ought to be admitted as made before the birth of *Christ*, unless we can find as ancient vouchers for it.

XIII. There are in this collection some lines which the author took from old *Pagan Oracles*, from *Homer*, *Orpheus*, and other poets :

XIV. But much is taken from the *Old and New Testament*.

XV. It contains not all the *Sibylline Oracles*, of which the fathers made use, but it has the greater part of them.

XVI. These oracles were forged in the first, second, and third centuries, not by *Pagans*, or *Jews*, but by heretics or orthodox *Christians* ; not by the fathers, but by some unknown persons.

XVII. There was no law which made it a capital crime to read these *Sibylline oracles*.

Such is the sentiment of *Fabricius*, who would have granted that there is not extant one *Sibylline oracle*, upon which we can depend as upon a prophecy fairly uttered before the event, and plainly accomplished. I see not why we should have a more favourable opinion of those which are lost.

The

The great difference of words and verses which appears even in the same passages of the Sibylline oracles, as they are cited by different Fathers, shews that the collections of these poems varied much, and that every librarian thrust in what he thought proper, and what he had picked up here and there from any dung-hill.

Amongst the defenders of the Sibylline oracles was Isaac Vossius, who wrote a book on that subject, a learned book, for he could write no other: but as to judgment, you must not seek it there. *Credimus*, says he, *omnes istos libros* (Apocryphos) *a Judeis fuisse compositos*, DEO IMPELLENTE IPSORUM MENTES *ad significandum gentibus Christi adventum. Infinita itaque illi edidere volumina; partim sub Patriarcharum et Prophetarum suorum nominibus, quales fuere libri qui olim lecti fuere sub nominibus Adami, Enochi, Abrahami, Moysis, Elie, Esaie, et Jeremice; partim vero sub nominibus illorum, quorum magna apud gentes esset existimatio, veluti Hystaspis, Mercurii Trismegisti, Zoroastris, Sibyllarum, Orphei, Phocylidæ, et complurium aliorum.* De Sibyl. Or. c. 7. It must be owned to have been a generous proceeding in Vossius, to take the weaker side on several occasions, and to be an advocate for those who stood most in need of assistance, in which charitable behaviour he has been, and will be imitated, for this sort of *charity* also *never faileth*: but for inventing and maintaining paradoxes, he never had an equal, except Father Harduin.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue was written, as Bishop Chandler, and Mr Masson have observed, when Pollio was consul, and the design of it was to compliment Augustus, or Cæsar Octavianus, as he was then called, and to foretell the birth of a son whom his wife

wife Scribonia should bear, who was then with child : but it proved a daughter, and the infamous Julia. See Chandler's *Def. of Christ.* and *Vindicat.* and at the end, a *Dissertation* of Masson.

*Ultima Cumœi venit jam carminis ætas.*

*Ultima* means here *postrema*, and *prima*, the *fifth* and *last* in order, and the *first*, that is, the returning golden age.

—isque parentem

*Te, Saturne, refert ; tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.*

Æn. vii. 48.

*Venit* means *is come* : it is contrary to the genius of the Latin tongue to interpret it *abiit*. Collins follows Fabricius in giving this latter sense to the verb : it is pity he did not follow him in many other points, where he would have found him a good guide. *Venit* in the present tense is, *it is coming* ; *vēnit* in the præterperfect, *it is come*, unless when it stands for an aorist, for ἦλθε, and means, *it came*. *Fuit* indeed often denotes what was, and is not. *Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium* : for, to avoid saying that a man was dead, the Romans said *fuit*, by an *euphemismus*.

*Cumœum carmen*, cannot be the poem of Hesiod, for Virgil calls him *Ascrœum senem*, and his poems *Ascrœum carnem*. It must be, as Servius interprets it, *Carmen Sibyllinum*.

Hence we may suppose, that in Virgil's time there were said to be Sibylline oracles, which mentioned the return of the golden age, and a renovation of happy days : but whether these oracles were forged by a Jew, or by a Pagan, or whether the substance of them were stolen from the holy Scriptures, or whether Virgil borrowed any of his ideas and expressions from these oracles, is a matter of doubt and uncertainty. It cannot



not be denied, that there is a great resemblance between Virgil's Eclogue and the sacred prophecies. See Bp. Chandler's *Def.* p. 10, &c.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue is a continued prophecy, and he must be supposed, for the sake of the *decorum*, to have acquired this foresight one way or other, else the poem would appear ridiculous. He gives no intimation that he was himself inspired, I speak of prophetic, not of poetic inspiration; and father Hesiod was no predictor of future events, so that from him he could not pretend to learn it. Whence then could he feign to have it, but from *old oracles*, from the *Cumæum carmen*? If he had set up on this occasion for a prophet, he would have spoiled his compliment; it was better to represent himself as only an interpreter of ancient prophecies, which he adorned with the graces of Latin poesy: this gave the Eclogue an air of importance and authority.

He pronounces that the *golden age* should commence under Augustus, and at the birth of his son, and should be brought to perfection when the young hero should arrive to manhood, and when his father (as the reader was left to suppose) was returned to heaven, and become one of the celestial gods.

Virgil has touched upon the same subject in other places; let us compare them together.

He declares, *Georg.* i. 24. that Augustus, when he should leave the earth, would become a god, one of the *Dii majorum gentium*.

*Tuque adeo, quem mox quæ sint habitura deorum  
Concilia, incertum est; &c.*

And 503.

*Jampridem nobis cæli te regia, Cæsar,  
Invidet.*

He

He intimates, ver. 500, that Augustus should restore peace and happiness, and that he was intended

—*verso succurrere sæclo.*

Again in the vi. *Æneis*, the *Sibyl*, the *Cumæan virgin*, and *prophetess*, leads *Æneas* to *Elysium*, where he learns that Augustus should arise and bring with him the *golden age*, 792.

*Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti sæpius audis :*

*Augustus Cæsar, Dixi genus : aurea condet*

*Sæcula qui rursus Latio.*

*Promitti*, that is, *foretold* by the gods and their prophets.

And again, 799.

*Hujus in adventum jam nunc et Caspia regna*

*Responsis horrent dicùm—*

My inference from these things is, that Virgil by *Cumæum Carmen* meant a Sibylline oracle, but I say not that he took any thing thence, besides a renovation and a golden age.

Virgil certainly paid no sincere regard to the Sibyl, and to her predictions. The Epicurean philosophy, in his days, had debauched the wits and the polite world, and he, as well as his friend Horace, was infected with it; but Virgil saw plainly that the atheistical system would make a poor figure in heroic poetry, and therefore has introduced it sparingly and obliquely. They who deny this Epicureism are persons with whom it would be a folly to dispute.

Not only the Sibylline oracles are to be rejected, but there is reason to suspect *the Orphic verses*, and also some few of the fragments of ancient poets produced by the fathers, to have been forged or interpolated by Jews or Christians. Such are the Orphic verses cited by Justin. *Cohort.* § 15, and by others;

Φθίγξομαι

Φθέγγομαι οἷς δέμις ἐστὶ—&c.

Cudworth declared his doubts concerning them, *Intell. Syst.* p. 300. See also Le Clerc *Hist. Eccl.* p. 692. *Les Peres, au moins* Clement Alexandrin, *savoient bien que l'on avoit attribué plusieurs choses à Orphée, qui n'en étoient point, et l'on a sujet de doubter qu'ils crussent bien assurément que le passage de l'unité de Dieu fût de lui. Ils ont pu le citer, contre ceux qui pouvoient croire qu'il en étoit effectivement, par un raisonnement, dont les Philosophes même se servent, faute de plus propres à persuader ceux, à qui ils ont à faire, et dont ils disent; valeat quantum poterit valere. Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. xxvii. 438.*

In Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 13. these orphic verses are to be found, as they were produced by Aristobulus.

An Oracle of Apollo cited by Justin, *Cohort.* § xi. and by Porphyry, in Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* ix. 10. says ;

Μῆνοι Χαλδαῖοι Σοφίην λάχον, ἥδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,

Αὐτογένεθλον ἀνακτα (εἰσαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἀγνώως.

*Chaldeo Hebræoque unis sapientia cessit,*

*Qui casto cæternum venerantur Numen honore.*

Here the Pagans and Porphyry were the dupes, who took this for a sacred oracle. Justin and Eusebius seem to use it as an *argumentum ad hominem*. Justin reads Θεὸν αὐτὸν.

Some have suspected, but without sufficient reason, this book of Porphyry to be forged. See a Dissertation in Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* xiii. 178. which well deserves to be perused. The author, whom I take to have been Le Clerc himself, acts the part of a Moderator between Fontenelle, or Van Dale, and their antagonist, and upon the whole is most inclined to side

with the former, though not in every thing. He blames the latter for using *figures* of *rhetoric* instead of *reasons*, treating Van Dale and Fontenelle as *Soci-nians*, setting the mob at them, and such sort of *pauvretes*. But as great guns are the *Ratio ultima Regum*, so these are the *Ratio ultima Disputatorum*, and supply the want of ammunition: and yet it is not altogether fair and honourable war; it is shooting chewed bullets and glass bottles.

*Cæterum*, says Le Clerc, *notatu dignissimum est hoc Oraculum, quod neque a Judæo, neque a Christiano, neque etiam ab Ethnico e vulgo fingi potuit.* Oper. Phil. tom. ii. in Indice, HEBRÆI.

Yet it might be made by some fantastical Pagan, who entertained a favourable opinion of the Chaldæans and of the Jews; or rather by some Jew, who was not very scrupulous, and who might join the Chaldæans to the Jews, thinking it would remove the suspicion that the oracle was framed by a Jew: he might also give this honour to the Chaldæans for the sake of his father Abraham, who was a Chaldæan. Or it might be the work of some old heretic, or of some foolish Christian. It seems to have been forged in the same shop where the orphic verses before-mentioned were fabricated: No one knew God, says this Orpheus,

Εἰ μὴ μενοειδὲς τις ἀπορρώξ φύλε ἄνωθεν  
Χαλδαίων.—

*Ast aliquis tantum Chaldæo a sanguine cretus.*

By whom, says Clemens, he means Abraham, or his son, *Strom.* v. p. 723. Clemens observes that Orpheus borrowed his thoughts and expressions from the Scriptures, and so far he is certainly in the right.

An



An oracle of Apollo in Lactantius *de Fals. Rel.*

i. 7. says,

Οὐνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρέμενον, ἐν πυρὶ νῆϊον,

Ταῦτ' ἑὸς· μικρὰ δὲ θεῷ μερὶς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.

*Nomen ne verbo quidem capiendum, in igne habitans,*

*Hoc Deus est: modica autem Dei portio Angeli nos.*

Made by a Jew, or a Christian.

There are more of the same stamp in Lactantius, and also Sibylline oracles bearing the most manifest marks of imposture.

Justin *Cohort.* § 16. and others after him, give us these Sibylline verses, which teach the unity of God, and condemn idolatry, and sacrifices, and exhort to the love of God, and are altogether in the language of the Scriptures, and carry their own confutation along with them :

Εἷς θεὸς δὲ μόνος ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγέννητος,

Πάντοκράτωρ, ἀόρατος, ὁρῶμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα·

Αὐτὸς δ' ὃ βλέπεται θνητῆς ὑπὸ σαρκὸς ἀπάσης.

*Unus Deus, qui solus est, ter maximus, increatus,*

*Omnipotens, invisibilis, ipse videns omnia.*

*Ipse autem a nulla videtur carne mortali.*

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀθανάτοιο τρίβας πεπλανημένοι ἦμεν,

Ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητα γεραίρομεν ἄφρονι μύθῳ (θύμῳ)

Εἶδωλα ξοάνων τε καλαφθιμένων τ' ἀνθρώπων.

*Nos autem ab immortalis tuis aberraveramus,*

*Ac opera manu facta colebamus stulta mente*

*Simulacra et statuas \* pereuntium hominum.*

Ὅλβιοι ἀνθρώποι κείνοι καὶ ἀγαῖαν ἔσονται,

Ὅσσοι δὲ ἐβέβησι μέγαν θεὸν, εὐλογέοντες

Πρὶν φαγέειν πίεειν τε, ποιηθέντες εὐσεβήσιν.

Οἱ νῦν μὲν ἅπαντας ἀπαρήσσονται ἰδόντες,

\* Rather *defunctorum*. But I leave the Latin versions usually as I find them, though sometimes they want emendation.

Καὶ βωμὸς, εἰκάτῃ λίθων ἀφιδρύματα κωφῶν,  
 Αἵμασιν ἐμψύχων μεμιασμένα καὶ θυσίαισι  
 Τετραπόδων, βλεψύσι δ' ἐνὸς Θεῷ ἐς μέγα κῦδος.

*Felices homines super terram erunt,  
 Quicumque diligent magnum Deum, benedicentes  
 Antequam comedant et bibant, confidentes pietate :  
 Qui omnia quidem templa abnegabunt videndo,  
 Et altaria, inanes lapidum sedes surdorum,  
 Cruoribus animalium contaminata et victimis  
 Quadrupedum ; et respicient ad unius Dei magnum  
 decus.*

In the fourth line, instead of *τρίβες*, one might read *ἀθανάτοιο τρίβες*, with *ἀπὸ* understood ; which may be translated, *We have erred from the everlasting path ;* but I rather think that *ἀθανάτοιο τρίβες* means *the path of God ; ἀπὸ τῆς τρίβος τοῦ Ἀθανάτου*.

Ἐγνώρισας με ὁδὸς ζωῆς. Psal. xv. 11. Τί ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ; Isa. lxiii. 17. Στήτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, καὶ ἴδετε, καὶ ἐρωτήσατε τρίβες Κυρίου αἰωνίως· καὶ ἴδετε ποία ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀγαθή. Jerem. vi. 16. And the Prophetess says in another place,

—τρίβον ὁρθὴν

Εὐθείαν ὁρελιπόνῃς.

Justin in his *Dialogue* takes no notice of the Sibyl ; in his *Apology* he mentions her as foretelling the conflagration at the last day, and saying many good things ; and complains that it was forbidden to read her. The *Cohortatio* is thought to surpass his other works in elegance of diction ; but that alone will hardly be a sufficient reason to pronounce it spurious, though it may justify a suspicion and an hesitation about it. The Benedictin Editor, p. 604. says, *Cum scriberet Cohortationem ad Græcos Justinus, credebatur Septuaginta illos Viros, dum pro se quisque separatim inclusi*

*inclusi laborabant, magno miraculo in omnibus verbis et sententiis inter se consensisse. Sed hanc fabulam, nec in prima Apologia, ubi agit de Septuaginta Interpretibus, commemorat, nec in Dialogo illius credendæ onus imponit Judæis: in quo quidem non levis conjectura est eam Justinum aut missam fecisse, aut saltem suspectam habere cæpisse.* Some will rather conjecture from this, that Justin was not the author of the *Cohortatio*; and I could name a friend, well known to the learned world, and a very good judge, who thinks that nothing of Justin is certainly genuine, besides the *Dialogue*, and the *Apologies*. The Benedictin endeavours to prove that the *Cohortatio* is to be ascribed to him, and contends with Casimire Oudin, who held the contrary opinion. *Præf. p. lxxviii.*

The Sibyl in the Proœm says,

Τίς γ' ἄρ' ἐξ δύναι τὸν ἐπουράνιον ἢ ἀληθῆ

Ὁρθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν Θεὸν ἄμβροτον, ὃς πόλον οἰκᾷ;

Ἄλλ' ἔδ' ἀκρίνων καλενασίον ἡελίοιο

"Ἀνθρώποι εἶναι δυνατοί, θνητοὶ γεγαῶτες.

*Corporeis oculis etenim quis cernere verum*

*Æternumque Deum possit, cælumque colentem?*

*Cum neque splendentis radiantia lumina solis*

*Sustineant homines mortales cernere contra.*

Socrates in Xenophon has the same sentiment, and says that the Deity is inconspicuous, and that a man cannot look upon the sun without being dazzled. *Memor. iv. 3.* Theophilus, Minucius Felix, Theodoret, and others have said the same thing. Clemens Alexandrinus fancied that Xenophon borrowed it from the Sibyl, *Cohort. p. 61.* and *Strom. v. 714.* But even admitting the antiquity of these verses, and supposing that they were written in Noah's ark, it will not follow from the parity of thought, that So-

crates or Xenophon had seen them, since all men, except those who are blind, know, without an instructor, that it is impossible to look upon the sun when he shines out in full strength. One thing is very plain, that the two first verses, and the word *ἀνὴρ* for *mortal man*, are taken from the Scriptures.

Justin *Cohort.* 18. has cited a very singular passage from Sophocles ;

Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν Θεός,  
 Ὃς ὕρανόν τέτευχε, καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν ;  
 Πόντον τε χαροπὸν αἶδμα, κἀνέμων βίας.  
 Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι,  
 Ἰδρυσάμεσθαι πημάτων παρὰ ψυχὴν  
 Θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων,  
 Ἡ χρυσοτεύκων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπας·  
 Θυσίας τὲ τέτοις ἢ καλὰς πανηγύρεις  
 Τεύχοντες, ὅπως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν.

*Unus profecto est, unus est tantum Deus,  
 Caeli solique machinam qui condidit,  
 Vadumque ponti cœrulum, et vim spiritus.  
 At ducta cæco errore gens mortalium  
 Commenta cladis in suce solatium est  
 Formas Deorum saxeas aut cereas,  
 Aurove ductas fusili, aut eburneas.  
 His victimarum sanguinem, his festos dies,  
 Cum dedicamus, esse nos remur pios.*

In the seventh verse, should it be,

Ἡ χρυσοτεύκους ἢ ἐλεφαντίνους τύπους.

Or, ——— ἢ ἑλεφαντίνους — ?

These verses are to be found in Clemens Alexandrinus and in other fathers, and with some variety of readings. See Eusebius *P. Ev.* xiii. 13. p. 680. and the notes of Vigerus. *Though this be such*, says Cudworth, *as might well become a Christian, and be no*  
*where*



where now to be found in those extant tragedies of this poet, many whereof have been lost, yet the sincerity thereof cannot reasonably be at all suspected by us, it having been cited by so many of the ancient fathers in their writings against the pagans, as particularly Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Cyril, and Theodoret, of which number Clemens tells us, that it was attested likewise by that ancient Pagan historiographer Hecatæus. *Intell. Syst.* p. 363.

Hecatæus, whom Josephus commends, *Contr. Apion.* i. 22. is said to have lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and to have conversed much with the Jews, and he might have been a kind of proselyte, or half-Jew. Le Clerc suspects that this book of Hecatæus might have been forged by the Jews. *Bibl. Chois.* viii. 392. Athenagoras only cites the two first verses of this fragment: it is strange that he should not have produced the rest, if he ever saw it, which made so much for his purpose. Some may think it improbable that Sophocles should venture to attack the gods and the religious ceremonies of his own country in so open a manner: but these verses are not, like those of the Sibyl, in the style of the Scriptures, and it is certain that in the Greek comedies and tragedies there are many bold strokes against the fabulous and popular religions; and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* v. p. 691. produces passages out of Euripides, Plato, and Zeno, which are very remote from the vulgar notions concerning the gods. The fathers have taken great pains to collect such testimonies, for which we are much obliged to them.

Justin, *Cohort.* 38. cites an oracle, which seems to be a Jewish or a Christian trifle, in which it is said that God



is not a verse, nor worth the mending. One might read,

Τάλλότρια βλέποντ', ἢ ἐπιθυμῶμενον—

He also cites some verses from *Æschylus*;

Χώριζε θνητῶν τὸν Θεόν, καὶ μὴ δώκε

"Ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ ἄρκινον καθιστάναι.—*Sc.*

Πάντα δύναται γάρ· δόξα δ' ὑψίστου Θεῷ.

*Deum amoveto longius mortalibus,*

*Nec tibi parem esse, carne amictum, finxeris.—*

*Namque omnia potest : laus Dei est altissimi.*

This passage is also to be found with some various readings in Clemens *Strom.* v. 727.

The last line has an air of forgery ; it is unharmonious, and prosaic, and seems to be taken from the Scriptures. In the second line, instead of "Ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ it should perhaps be "Ὅμοια ἑαυτῷ—for the second foot will not regularly admit a spondee.

Eusebius, unless my memory deceives me, has made no direct use of the Sibyl, whence it may be conjectured that he had no great esteem for her. Dr Middleton has charged him with approving and justifying a very silly Acrostich of the Erythræan Sibyl. *Eusebius has preserved an Acrostich.—He tells us however that many people rejected it—but the truth, adds he, is manifest—for it is agreed by all that Cicero had read this poem.—Now the sole ground of this confident assertion is, &c.* Inquiry, p. 36.

The father of Ecclesiastical History deserves not this censure, and the Doctor has inadvertently ascribed to Eusebius, sentiments contained in an oration, published indeed by Eusebius, but composed by the Emperor Constantine. As to the Emperor's judgment, defend it who will, for I will not ; but why should Eusebius be responsible for the mistakes of  
Constantine ?

Constantine? See *Constantini Orat.* apud Eusebium, p. 700. Edit. Cant. and Valesius there, and Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 32.

Eusebius cites the Sibyl, *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 13. but in the words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, whom he transcribes.

IX. 15. He produces a passage from her concerning the tower of Babel, but he took it, as he informs us, from Josephus *Ant.* i. 4. who says, Περὶ δὲ τῆς πύργου τῆς ἁλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μέμνηται ἡ Σίβυλλα λέγουσα ἕτως, Πάντων ὁμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πύργον ὠκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ὕραν ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμφαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον, ἡ ἰδίαν ἐκάστω φωνὴν ἔδωκαν, ἡ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. *De turri autem hac, deque linguis hominum mutatis meminit etiam Sibylla, ad hunc modum dicens: Cum universi homines uno eloquio uterentur, turrim edificarunt quidam excel-sissimam, quasi ad cælum per eam ascensuri. Dū vero procellis emissis turrim everterunt, et suam cuique linguam dederunt. Quæ causa fuit, ut urbs ea Babylonis nomen acciperet.*

The verses relating to this subject are preserved by *Theophilus ad Autolycum* ii. 31.

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν μεγάλοιο θεῷ τελείωνται ἀπειλαί,  
 Ἀς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησε βροτοῖς, ὅτε πύργον ἔτιυξαν  
 Χώρῃ ἐν Ἀσσυρη. ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἦσαν ἅπαντες,  
 Καὶ βέλοντ' ἀναβῆν' εἰς ὕραν ἀσερόεσσα.  
 Αὐτίκα δ' ἀθάνατος μέγαν ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκην  
 Πνεύμασιν αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἀνεμοὶ μέγαν ὑψόθη πύργον  
 ῥίψαν, ἡ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὥρσαν.  
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργος τ' ἔπεσεν, γλῶσσαι τ' ἀνθρώπων  
 Εἰς πολλὰς θνητῶν ἐμερίσθησαν διαλέκτους,  
 Γαῖα βροτῶν πληρῆτο μεριζομένων βασιλείων.

*Sed*



*Sed quando magni Dei perficiuntur mince,  
Quas aliquando comminatus est mortalibus, quando  
turrin fabricarunt*

*In terra Assyria. Erant autem omnes unius lingue,  
Et voluerunt scandere cælum stelligerum.*

*Statin autem Immortalis magnam imposuit necessi-  
tatem*

*Ventis. Venti autem magnam et altam turrin  
Ubi dejecerunt, etiam inter mortales discordiam ex-  
citarunt.*

*Rursus ubi turris cecidit, ac lingue hominum  
Mortalium in multas divisæ sunt dialectos,  
Terra mortalibus impleta fuit sub variis regibus.*

In the last line perhaps for βασιλῶν it should be βασιλειῶν, The earth was replenished with men, and divided into various kingdoms.

Hence it may be concluded that a Sibylline oracle concerning the tower of Babel was extant in the days of Josephus, and hence Beverege makes some inferences in favour of the Sibylline verses cited by the ancient fathers, which are by no means conclusive and satisfactory. *Cod. Can. Illustr.* i. 14.

Was the oracle mentioned by Josephus in prose or in verse? We cannot certainly tell, but it is most probable that it was in verse, and that Josephus gave us the sense and substance of it in prose. Had Josephus those verses before him which are preserved by Theophilus? Beverege says he had, and so thinks Isaac Vossius; and it may be so. But then the verses seem to have undergone some alteration afterwards; for the Sibyl in Josephus says that from the confusion of languages the place was called Babylon; the Sibyl in Theophilus says it not: the Sibyl in Josephus says that οἱ Θεοὶ, *the gods*, overthrew the edifice;

fice ; but in the verses it is 'Αθανατος, *God*, which may seem better to agree with *μεγάλοις θεῷ* that went before.

One might conjecture that at first it was thus :

Αὐτίκα δ' ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙ *μεγάλῃν* ΕΠΕΘΗΚΑΝ *ἀνάγκην*

Πνεύμασιν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἀνεμοὶ μέγαν ὑψόθι πύργον

ῥίψαν, καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἔριν ὤρσαν.

By this change, 'Αθάνατοι may be the nominative case to ὤρσαν, instead of ἀνεμοὶ, and it seems more reasonable that the *gods* than the *winds* should set the men at variance. It is in a Pagan style, and yet a Jewish forger might write it, and take the bold liberty to say 'Αθάνατοι, meaning *God* and his *angels*, or *the angels*. Angels are sometimes called *gods*, and in *Genesis* xi. 7. whence this account is taken, *The Lord said, Let us go down, and there confound their language*; in which words, according to many of the Rabbins, God speaks to his angels. Josephus himself now and then uses expressions bordering upon Paganism.

It is not safe to trust one's memory in things of this kind ; but I think that profane authors, though they sometimes say 'Αθάνατοι, for *the gods*, and make it a substantive, yet never say 'Αθάνατος, simply, for *God*, or the *supreme God*. The Sibylline oracles more than once use this word in this manner, and shew by it that they are not the work of a Pagan.

The supposition which some have made, that *Justin Martyr* was guilty of forging the Sibylline oracles, is groundless and perverse. Justin has written his own character in every page of his works, and shews himself pious, warm, sprightly, fearless, open, hasty, honest, inquisitive, sincere, and as void of dissimulation and hypocrisy as a child. Add to this, that he writes like a man who had no turn for such things, and was not only no poet, but not a  
verse-

verse-maker. But though he was incapable of forgery, he was deluded by these forged oracles, and perhaps by his authority led the fathers who lived after him into the same error.

*Tatian* makes no use of the Sibylline oracles, and only just mentions the Sibyl amongst the writers who were before Homer, and after Moses. *Orat. contr. Græc.* § 41.

*Athenagoras*, to shew that the gods of the Gentiles were men, produces six verses from the Sibyl. *Legat.* § 30.

*Theophilus* gives us no less than eighty-four Sibylline verses, *ad Autol.* ii. the same which stand in the beginning of the editions of these oracles, and which are mere patch-work of Scripture-phrase. When the Greek poets said things consonant to the holy Scriptures, *Theophilus* observes that they stole their knowledge from the law and the prophets, κλέψαντες ταῦτα ἐκ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. It is strange that he did not suspect the same thing of the Sibyl, whose thefts are so open and glaring. ii. 37.

The Sibylline verses cited by the fathers, and those which are preserved in our present collection, are often the same, and always of the same stamp and value, and liable to the same objections. It is a vain thing to receive the one, and reject the other: it is better to defend them all heroically in the lump, and not to do the work by halves, nor make a distinction where there is no difference.

*Clemens Alexandrinus* was learned, and willing to shew his learning, and to let the world see that he had perused all sorts of authors; and therefore could not possibly omit the Sibyl.

He

He produces these verses (from the Sibyl, though he names her not) in praise of the Hebrews, *Colort.* 60.

Οἱ τινες οὐκ ἀπάτησι κεναῖς, ἔδ' ἐργ' ἀνθρώπων  
 Χρύσεια καὶ χαλκεῖα, καὶ ἀργύρεα, ἢ δ' ἐλέφαντος,  
 Καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε, βροτῶν εἶδωλα θανόντων,  
 Τιμῶσιν, ὅσαπέρ τε βροτοῖ, κενεόφρονι βουλή.  
 Ἀλλὰ γ' αἶρουσιν πρὸς ὕραν ὠλένας ἀγνάς,  
 Ὅρθριοι ἐξ εὐνῆς, αἰεὶ χροῖα ἀγνίζοντες  
 Ὑδασι, καὶ τιμῶσι μόνον τὸν αἰὲ μεδέοντα  
 Ἀθάνατον.

*Qui nusquam vanis erroribus inducti, hominum opera  
 Ex ebore argenteoque, ex auro denique et cere,  
 E saxis lignoque hominum simulacra peremptorum,  
 Horrent, et quaecumque alii, vanissima turba.  
 At contra puras tollunt ad sidera palmas,  
 Mane ubi membra levant strato, quæ virgine lympa  
 Perfundunt : unumque colunt, qui cuncta gubernat,  
 Usque immortalem.*

I give this version, as I find it in the Oxford edition, and shall not trouble myself to mend it. The fifth verse seems to be taken from St Paul—ἐπαίρουσας ἰσίνες χεῖρας. 1 *Tim.* ii. 8. Perhaps, πρὸς γ' ὕραν, for the sake of metre, and also ὠλένας ἀγνάς, from ὠλήν; for the last syllable of ὠλένας from ὠλένη is long. In the last verse for Ἀθάνατον, Sylburgius would read Ἀθανάτων, I know not why. This passage may be found in the *Sybill. Or.* L. iii.

Amongst the Sibylline verses cited by *Theophilus* and *Clemens*, are these :

Εἰς Θεός ἐστι, βροχᾶς, ἀνέμους, (ρισμὸς ἐπιπέμπων,  
 Ἀσεροπᾶς, λιμὸς, λοιμὸς, καὶ κηδεα λυγρά,  
 Καὶ νιφεῖς, κρύσταλλα· τί δὴ καθ' ἐν ἐξαγορεύω ;

*Units.*



*Unus Deus est, imbres, ventos, terræ motus immittens,*

*Fulgura, fames, pestes, et luctus tristes,*

*Et nives, et glaciem. Et quid singula commemoro?*

This is taken from the *Psalms*. Τὸ διδόντος χιῶνα—βάλλοντος κρύσαλλον αὐτῷ—Χάλαζα, χιῶν, κρύσαλλος, πνεῦμα καταγίδος—cxlvii. cxlviii.

*Minucius Felix* mentions not the Sibyl, though he was invited to it by his subject, where he defends the Christians for teaching the doctrine of a conflagration and a future judgment, and appeals to the poets and philosophers who had said the same thing. c. xxxiv. &c. I am glad of it, for the sake of that ingenious and agreeable author.

The Phrygian Sibyl is said to have been called *Diana*, "Ἀρτεμις, and to have uttered these verses at Delphi :

Ω Δελφοὶ θεράποντες ἐκηθέλου Ἀπόλλωνος,

Ἡλθον ἐγὼ χρέισουσα Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,

Αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ πεχολωμένη Ἀπόλλωνι.

*O Delphi, Phæbi ferientis qui eminus estis*

*Servi, veni ad vos Jovis expositura potentis*

*Mentem, germano succensens plurima Phæbo.*

Thus *Clemens Strom.* i. p. 384. and *Pausanias* also says that the Sibyl calls herself Herophile, and Diana, and the sister, and sometimes the wife, and sometimes the daughter of Apollo. See the notes.

We have here, I think, the fragment of a true old Sibylline oracle made by a Pagan. It looks as if it were composed by some priest, who had a mind to set up an oracle in opposition to the Delphic, and to draw the trade to another shop.

*Pausan.*

*Pausanius* in *Phoc.* gives us this Sibylline oracle predicting a defeat of the Athenians, and made, I suppose, after the event ;

Καὶ τότε Ἀθηναίοισι βαρύσωνα κήδεα Δῖος

Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ἔπερ κράτος ἐσὶ μέγιστον.

Ἴνυσὶ φέρει πολέμοιο μάχην ἢ δηϊοτῆτα

Ὀλλυμέναις δολεροῖσι τρόποις, κακότητι νομήων.

*Ac tum Cecropidis luctum gemitusque ciebit*

*Jupiter altitonans, rerum cui summa potestas.*

*Naxibus exitium, et crudelia funera bello*

*Ille feret, culpaque ducum dabit omnia pessum.*

*Dio*, or *Xiphiline*, mentions a verse, pretended to be a Sibylline oracle, concerning Nero, which was handed about when Nero had burnt the city of Rome ; and which, to be sure, was composed after he had killed his mother \* ;

Ἐσχάτος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.

*Ultimus Æneadum matrem necat induperator.*

But, says the historian, it was really fulfilled. Indeed ! As if it required divination, to foresee that such a debauched, miserable, odious wretch as Nero would in all probability die without heirs, or be cut off by some conspiracy, and that with him the Julian family would be extinguished ! Nero married Sporus, upon which one of the wits of those days observed, that it had been well for mankind, *Si pater ejus Domitius talem duxisset uxorem.*

—ἕτερον λόγιον, ὡς ἢ Σιβύλλειον ὄντως ὂν, ἦδον. ἔσι δὲ τῷτο,

Ἐσχάτος—

Καὶ ἔσχεν ἕτως. εἴ τε ἢ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομανθία τινὶ προλεχθὲν, εἴτε ἢ τότε ὑπὸ τῷ ὁμίλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα δειασθὲν. τελευταῖος γὰρ τῶν  
Ἰουλίων

\* Nero killed his mother, A. D. 59. and burnt the city A. D. 64.

Ἰουλίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου γενομένων ἐμονάρχῃσε. *Hunc versum, ut vere Sibyllinum, canere cœperunt, Ultimus—*

*Id quod accidit, sive vere prædictum divino Oraculo, sive afflatu multitudinis ex statu rerum qui tum erat : nam is ultimas ex Julii familia, quæ ab Ænea profecta erat, regnavit. Xiphil. p. 180. ed Steph.*

I shall conclude this poetical section with an oracle from the *Anthologia*, and as good an oracle as the Sibyl ever uttered :

Πρὸς τὴν μάντιν Ὀλυμπίου Ὀνήσιμος ἦλθ' ὁ παλαιστῆς,  
Καὶ πένταθλος Ὑλας, καὶ σταδιεύς Μενεκλῆς,  
Τίς μέλλει νικᾶν αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα, Δέλοντες  
Γινῶναι· καὶ κείνος τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνιδὼν,  
Πάντες, ἔφη, νικᾶτε, μόνον μή τις σὲ παρέλθῃ,  
Καὶ σὲ κάτασφρέψῃ, καὶ σὲ παρατροχάσῃ.

Thus imitated by Ausonius :

*Doctus Hylas cæstu, Phegeus catus arte palæstræ,  
Clarus Olympiacis et Lycus in stadiis,  
An possent omnes venturo vincere agone,  
Hammonem Libyæ consulere deum.  
Sed Deus, ut sapiens, Dabitur victoria vobis  
Indubitata quidem, si caveatis, ait,  
Ne quis Hylam cæstu, ne quis certamine luctæ  
Phegea, ne cursu te, Lyce, prætereat.*

There is an *Epistle* ascribed to Barnabas : we cannot certainly know by whom it was written.

The first who cites it is Clemens Alexandrinus, who was born about the middle of the second century, and there is a passage in it which shews that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. We may therefore conclude that it was composed after A. D. 70. and before 180, and probably in the first century.

He says of the temple ; Διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομοῦσιν (ἀνοικοδομοῦσιν) αὐτὸν. *Nam quia bellum gesserunt, ab hostibus destructum est; nunc vero ipsi hostium ministri illud recedificant.* xvi. He mentions not this destruction, as an event which had just then come to pass, but says indefinitely καθηρέθη, as if some time at least were elapsed since that calamity. There is a great conformity between the subject of this epistle and of that to the Hebrews ; but a great difference between the epistles, for that to the Hebrews is in all respects superior.

Since the author of this epistle, as it now stands, discovers not himself, and gives no internal mark by which we may find him out, and since the name of Barnabas \* might be common to other persons, or assumed on purpose, one would willingly take occasion from hence to ascribe it to some unknown author, rather than to the apostle Barnabas. If it was really the work of St Paul's companion, there are internal characters in it, which should incline us to judge that he was not at that time under any particular guidance of the Holy Spirit. The ancient Christians judged so, and received it not as a canonical book, which shews also that they were not so very credulous, and so ready to adopt every thing as they are imagined by some to have been.

Barnabas is supposed by Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, and many of the ancients, to have been one of the seventy disciples ; Tillemont *Hist. Eccl.* i. 408. and when he is first mentioned in the *Acts*, nothing is said to intimate that he was converted after Christ's ascension.

When

\* *Barnabas, or Son of consolation.*



When he preached with Paul, the Pagans of Lystra took him to be Jupiter, and Paul to be Mercurius; whence it might be conjectured that he looked, and that he was, much older than St Paul; but I dare not lay a stress on this argument. Chrysostom says that he was ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψείας ἀξιοπρεπῆς, that he had an air which commanded esteem and respect. I fancy that Chrysostom had the same conjecture in his mind, and thought that the Pagans were induced to take Barnabas for Jupiter, from his amiable aspect and majestic countenance, fit for the *Father of gods and men*. Upon the whole, there may be room to suspect either that he did not survive the destruction of Jerusalem; or that he was then very old, and *emeritus*; and not likely to write a long and laboured epistle.

It has been said that Barnabas and Clemens Romanus speak not of miracles as being performed in the church in their time. Suppose it to be true, the same thing might be observed of some Epistles in the New Testament, particularly of the Epistle to the Hebrews; which werè written before the destruction of Jerusalem; when St Paul and some other apostles were living, and preaching the gospel in various places, *the Lord working with them; and*, as we may justly suppose, *confirming the word with signs following*.

Barnabas, ch. xii. says, ἐποίησε ὁ θεὸς πάντα ἔφιν δάσκειν αὐτοῖς. that is: *God caused all sorts of serpents to bite the people of Israel in the wilderness*. I have sometimes thought that it should be πυρόεντα ἔφιν. Num. xxi. 6. *Misit Dominus in populum serpentes urentes, Seraphim; ignitos*, as Jerom renders it. The LXX. indeed has δανατῶνας. We translate it *fiery serpents*. πυρόεντα ἔφιν, in the singular, for *fiery serpents*; would be an Hebraism, as ver. 7. *Ora ut tollat a nobis serpentem*:

but the emendation is uncertain. Justin Martyr speaking of the same thing, says—ἀπῆντησαν αὐτοῖς ἰοβόλα θηρία, ἐχιδναὶ τε καὶ ἄσπιδες, καὶ ὄφεις πᾶν γένος, οἱ ἐθανάτου τὸν λαόν. *Apol.* i. § 60. which favours the received reading in Barnabas. One would almost think that Justin took his πᾶν γένος from Barnabas. Le Clerc thinks that he has found a remark in Justin's *Apology*, borrowed from Barnabas. *Bibl. Chois.* iii. 391. The Benedictin Editor of Justin is of the same opinion, *Addend.* p. 603.

Valentinus, who taught his heretical doctrines about A. D. 140. \* and might be born at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, says ; Εἷς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς ὃ παρρησία ἢ διὰ τῆς ὑψὺς φανέρωσις· καὶ δι' αὐτὴν μόνος δύναται ἂν ἡ καρδία καθαρὰ γενέσθαι, πάντος πνεύματος πνεύματος ἐξωθεμένης τῆς καρδίας. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνοικῆντα αὐτῇ πνεύματα οὐκ ἔα καθαρεύειν· ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν, τὰ ἴδια ἐκτελεῖ ἔργα, πολλαχῶς ἐνυβρίζοντων ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ προσηκέσαις· καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁμοίον τι πάσχειν τῷ πανδοχείῳ ἡ καρδία· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κατετίσεται τε καὶ ὀρύσσεται, καὶ πολλαῖς κόπρου πίμπλαται, ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγῶς ἐμμενόντων, καὶ μηδεμίαν πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων τῷ χωρίῳ, καθάπερ ἄλλοτρίῳ καθεστῶτος. τὸν τρόπον τῆτον καὶ ἡ καρδία, μέχρι μὴ προνοίας τυγχάνει, ἀκάρθατος ἔσα, πολλῶν ἔσα δαιμόνων οἰκητήριον· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐπισκέψεται αὐτὴν ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς Πατήρ, ἡγίασαι, καὶ φωσὶ διαλάμψει καὶ ἔτω μακαρίζεται ὁ ἔχων τὴν τοιαύτην καρδίαν ὅτι ὀφεται τὸν Θεόν.

*Est autem unus Bonus, cujus fiducia est ea quæ fit per Filium manifestatio, et per eum solum potest cor fieri mundum, ejecto ex corde omni maligno spiritu. Multi enim in eo habitantes spiritus, id mundum esse non sinunt. Unusquisque autem eorum propria efficit opera, sæpe non convenientibus insultans cupiditatibus. Ac mihi quidem videtur cor non esse absimile diversorio : illud enim perforatur et effoditur, et stercore sæpe repletur, cum homi-*

*nes*

\* See Massuet's Dissertation concerning him in Irenæus, in which he places him somewhat earlier.

*nes se petulanter gerant, et locum nihil omnino curent, ut qui sit alienus. Eodem modo cor quoque: cum, quamdiu nulla ejus providentia geritur, sit immundum et multorum Dæmonum habitaculum: postquam autem id inviserit, qui solus est bonus Pater, sanctificatum est, et luce resplendet, et sic qui tali est corde præditus, beatur, quoniam Deum valebit.*

This fragment is preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus *Strom.* ii. p. 489. where he stands up for human liberty against the Valentinians, who were a sort of Fatalists, or Predestinarians, and thought themselves to be the only elect. Observe, that Valentinus bears witness to the authority of the New Testament, for he takes passages or expressions from it to insinuate and recommend his own doctrines, as ἡμεῖς φανερώσις—δαιμόνων οἰκητήριον—ἐπισκέψῃται—μόνος ἀγαθὸς Πατὴρ—φωτὶ διαλάμπει—μακαρίζεται &c.—ὁφείται Θεῷ. See 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. *Rev.* xviii. 2. *Luke* vii. 16. *Mat.* xix. 17. *Luke* xi. 36. *Mat.* v. 8.

He also seems upon the whole to imitate Barnabas, who says, Πρὸ τῆς ἡμᾶς πεισεῖσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἣν ἡμῶν τὸ οἰκητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς—ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολαβείας, καὶ ἦν οἶκος δαιμόνων—Διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητήριῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεός· κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν· ὡς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως—*Antequam nos Deo crederemus, erat nostrum cordis habitaculum interitui obnoxium et imbecillum—quia erat quidem plenum cultu idolorum, et erat domus Dæmonum,—Quare in domicilio nostro vere Deus existit: habitat in nobis. Quomodo? Verbum ejus fidei.—*

CLEMENS ROMANUS is an author on whom I made some remarks, *Disc.* vi. p. 223. 3d edit. I have only this to add: Clemens *Epist.* i. 4. says, Διὰ ζῆλον ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰανῶς ἀτέδρα—*Propter æmulationem pater*



noster *Jacobus aufugit*—whence, I find, some persons have lately discovered and concluded, that Clemens was a Jew. I think the passage will not prove it. Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 23.—τὰ γράμματα τῷ θεῷ νόμου, τῷ διὰ Μωσέως ἡμῖν δεδομένου. The law was given to *us*, says Theophilus; and yet he had been converted from Paganism to Christianity. Therefore when any ancient Christian writers use such expressions, it is not to be inferred thence, with any kind of certainty, that they were of Jewish extraction, or even that they had been proselytes to Judaism. Indeed nothing is more natural than for Christians to speak as if they were Abraham's children; as if the law, and the prophets, and the patriarchs belonged to them as well as to the Jews. In the same same book § 24. Theophilus says, Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης ἡμῶν, 94. Δαυὶδ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν, 27. Ἀβραὰμ τῷ προπάτορι ἡμῶν.

Hermas is cited by Irenæus, who was born about A. D. 120. He is also observed to have made no mention of miracles; but he had nothing to lead him to it, and his book is taken up with visions and revelations. I offered a conjecture concerning it, that it was a parable. *Disc. vi. on the Christ. Rel.*

He mentions a vision of a formidable beast threatening to devour him, from which he was preserved, and he interprets this of a great tribulation which was to come upon the Christians, and which some have applied to Domitian's persecution. L. i. *Vis.* ii. § 2, 3. p. 77. *Vis.* iv. p. 82.

Polycarp, of whose epistle I have taken notice, p. 62. suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius with exemplary courage and constancy. His death is said to have been honoured with some miracles, which are of such a kind, and attended with such circumstances, that



that there is some reason to pause and doubt of them. But this shall perhaps be considered in its proper place.

The *Recognitions*, and the *Homilies* of Clemens, written, as it is thought, in the second century, contain as much truth as Lucian's True History, Aristeas, Gulliver's Travels, the Lives of several Monks, of Lazarilla, of David Simple, and of Gil Blas. It would not be a reasonable request to desire any man to confute this work. It is sufficient to refer the reader to the judgment of Cotelerius, p. 607.

I shall only produce one passage, and none of the worst for a specimen. Peter is introduced saying, *Quod cum vidisset Gamaliel princeps populi, qui latenter frater noster erat in fide, sed consilio nostro inter eos erat*—i. 65.

Here this knave of a forger makes Peter, or *Lord Peter*, as he commonly calls him, and the rest of the apostles mere politicians, who persuade Gamaliel to dissemble his religion, and to act the part of a spy and a hypocrite.

In the *Recognitions*, ii. 13. Simon Magus is introduced speaking thus: *Pueri incorrupti et violenter necati animam adjuramentis ineffabilibus evocatam adsistere mihi feci, et per ipsam fit omne quod jubeo*. Dr Middleton thus translates it: *Simon Magus confessed to one of his companions, that he wrought all his amazing works by the help of the soul of an healthy young boy, who had been violently put to death for that purpose, and then called up from the dead, by ineffable adjurations, and compelled to be his assistant*. Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, &c. p. 67.

*Pueri incorrupti animam*. In the Greek it was, I suppose, Παιδὸς ἀδιαφθόρου ψυχὴν. Justin Martyr calls

such children ἀδιαφθόρους, and Socrates the historian ἀφθόρους παῖδας. Justin *Apol.* i. p. 27. Νεκυρομαντεῖαι μὲν γάρ, καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφθόρων παίδων ἐποπλεύσεις—*Necyromantie enim, et incorruptorum puerorum inspectiones*—Socrates iii. 13. Καὶ τελεῖας τινὰς ὤνισασαν, ὡς καὶ σπυλαλχοσυκοπέμενοι παῖδας καθύειν ἀφθόρους—which Valesius translates, *Quin etiam nefanda qucedam mysteria ab illis excogitata sunt; ita ut pueros impuberes immolarent, extaque eorum inspicerent.*—

I once told Dr Middleton, that I was inclined to think that in this place *incorruptus* meant *impubis* rather than *sanus*. Ἀδιάφθορος, ἄφθορος, *incorruptus*, mean properly *impollutus, expers veneris*; and they are used for *impubis*, because children are usually *impolluti*. παῖδα or κόρην διαφθεῖν is *stuprare*. Ἄφθορος, *impubes, impollutus, incorruptus, imberbis*, say the Lexica. ἄφθορος παῖς, *puer imberbis*. Diosc. ii. c. 102. Καὶ πολλοὶ τινες καὶ πολλαί, ἐξηκοντῆται καὶ ἐβδομηκοῖσται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθηλεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι. *Et multi sexus utriusque, et sexaginta et septuaginta nati annos, qui a pueris disciplinam Christi sunt assectati, incorrupti permanent*, Justin *Apol.* i. 22. ed. Th. ἄφθοροι, *impolluti, expertes veneris, etiam legitime*. *Qui inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur*, says Minucius, c. xxxi.

Concerning such magical rites, see Broukhusius on *Tibullus* i. 11. 45. and Fabricius *Bibl. Antiqu.* p. 417. 419. and Havercamp's Tertullian, *Apol.* 23. *Si pueros in eloquium oraculi elidunt*. Junius thinks that this relates to the sacrificing of children, which kind of divination was called βρεφομαντεία, *pædomantia*.

Amongst the apostolical writers some have placed the author of the EPISTLE to DIOGNETUS, which has been usually ascribed to *Justin Martyr*: See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* v. 58. Tillemont (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. p. 493.)

first

first declared that he was inclined, for some reasons, to think it more ancient, and written before A. D. 70. He says also that a learned man, whom he names not, had been of that opinion. The last editor of Justin thinks that they are mistaken, as to the antiquity of this epistle, and is in doubt whether it should be ascribed to Justin or no. *Præf.* p. lxxiv. Baratier gives it to *Clemens Romanus*, and Mr Whiston to *Timothy*. In this epistle there are many allusions to the New Testament, which Mr Whiston has marked in the margin of his translation, and there is nothing said concerning any miraculous powers and gifts amongst Christians. It is *opus eximium et præstantissimum*, says the Benedictin editor, and Baratier and Mr Whiston are of the same opinion. Diognetus, who is called *κατάτις*, was, we may suppose, if he really existed, a man of some rank. His honour wanted to be informed of the nature of Christianity, and why this new religion was not made known sooner, and for what reasons the Christians exposed themselves to persecution and to death, neglecting the things of this world, and rejecting the religions of the Greeks and of the Jews. To these queries our author replies in a letter, in which the truth of Christianity is, in a manner, taken for granted, and nothing is urged that was proper to convince and convert an unbeliever; so that Diognetus, if he had been morose and censorious, would have concluded, that this writer had found a new religion, but had lost something else. One would think that the apologist would have mentioned the prophecies of the Old Testament accomplished in Christ, the miracles of Christ and of his apostles, and other proofs of the truth and importance of Christianity. Not at all. He begins  
with



with setting forth the folly of worshipping images, and thinking them to be real gods, and this he gives as the reason for which Christians rejected the religion of the Gentiles.

The Jews, says he, though they worship one God, yet offer him sacrifices, as if he stood in need of such gifts, and were to be fed with the stream of victims; they are also superstitious observers of the difference between food clean and unclean, of the Sabbath, of circumcision, fasts, feasts, new moons, &c. Therefore we Christians reject the Jewish religion.

What he says on this head is not only too severe upon the Jews, but incautious, and injudicious, and, if it proved any thing, would prove more than he intended, and was aware of, and bear hard upon the Mosaic law. The same defect may be observed in some arguments of Arnobius upon the same subject.

Then he proceeds to observe that Christians were examples of all that was good, and patient under afflictions and ill usage; that God sent his Son to suffer for men, to redeem, and to instruct them, who, before he came, knew not God, and who were grown very wicked; all which, if intended as a sufficient proof of Christianity, was little better than begging the question.

He speaks of the Jews, as if at that time they offered up sacrifices, whence some learned men have concluded that he wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem; but the argument is scarcely conclusive, especially, when we consider what sort of a writer we have to do with. *Sacrificia quidem*, says the Benedictin, *Judæi offerre desierunt post urbis et templi excidia. Sed tamen cum author epistolæ quid intersit Judæos inter et Christianos exponat, non immerito in Ju-*  
*dæis*



*Judeis aspernatur cruenta illa animalium sacrificia, quæ et Judaici cultus pars erant insignis, et sibi per vim erepta Judæi, si minus usu, saltem animo et voluntate retinebant. Pluribus aliis contigit Judæos eodem modo exagitare. S. Phileas Martyr de Judæis sic loquitur, Act. Mart. p. 444. “Solis Judæis præceptum fuerat sacrificare Deo soli in Jerosolyma. Nunc autem peccant Judæi in locis aliis solemnia sua celebrantes, &c.” Præf. p. 75.*

I cannot believe that this epistle was written by Justin Martyr; for Justin would have managed the argument better, and have omitted neither the prophecies, nor the miracles. The author seems to have been some Gentile converted to Christianity, who had perused Justin's *Cohortatio ad Græcos*.

Justin begins it thus: Ἀρχόμενος τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς παραίνεσεως, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, εὐχομαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑπάσχειν, τὰ δέ σοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς δὲ, τῆς προτέρας ἀφεμένους φιλονεικίας, ἣ τῆς τῶν προγόνων πλάνης ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἐλθεῖν τὰ λυσιτελεῖν σου. *Cohortationem apud vos, Græci, instituens, Deum precor, ut mihi quidem apud vos, ut par est, dicere contingat; vos autem pristinam pertinaciam relinquentes, et a majorum discedentes errore, quæ utilia sunt in præsentia eligatis.* This is an imitation of the *exordium* in the oration of *Demosthenes* for *Ctesiphon*: and as Justin imitates *Demosthenes*, so the writer of the Epistle imitates Justin—παρά τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ ἡ τοῦ λέγειν ἢ τοῦ ἀκούειν ἡμῶν χωρηγῆναι, αἰτῆμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν ὅπως, ὡς μάλιτα ἂν ἀκούσαι [ἀκούσαι] σε βελτίω γενέσθαι. [οἱ τε [δὲ] ὅπως ἀκούσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸ εἰπῶν. *Peto a Deo, qui et loquendi et audiendi nobis facultatem suppeditat, ut ab eo detur, mihi quidem, ita verba facere ut in primis contingat, te, postquam audieris, meliorem evadere; et tibi, ita audire, ut tristitia non afficiatur is qui verba fecerit.*

This

This is said well enough :

*amphora cæpit*

*Institui; currente rota, cur urceus exit?*

The epistle has a few chasms, but there seems to be only a little of it that is lost. It was perhaps an exercise, or declamation, addressed to a great man, with whom the author had no acquaintance; as some modern epistles to the pope, and to Lewis the fourteenth, which were never presented.

As I have had occasion to mention Tillemont, and shall probably often cite him hereafter, I take this opportunity to own my obligations to him for his useful and laborious collections. After this due respect and acknowledgment, I hope it will be permitted to make a few observations which may do others some good, and can now do him no harm, nor destroy the peace which I believe he enjoys in a better world.

His history of the emperors is very valuable; but he has filled his other books with an account of trifling, absurd, ridiculous miracles.

He never affirms facts without vouchers, but he often makes use of bad ones in his *Ecclesiastical History*, and builds upon a sandy foundation, upon the testimony of forgers, fanatics, and of interested persons, who write in their own behalf, and want to discredit their adversaries.

He commonly proceeds upon a supposition that they who have obtained the honour of *Ecclesiastical knighthood*, and are called *saints*, are all excellent men, and entirely to be trusted, and that all they who were, or were accounted *heterodox*, are to be little regarded, and held in bad esteem.

He seems to have been a pious, humble, meek and modest, as well as a very learned and accurate man; and

and yet he cannot forbear insulting Protestant writers as heretics, even those to whom he and the Christian world had great obligations, as Usher, Pearson, &c. He takes all opportunities, and sometimes goes out of his way to seek opportunities, of inculcating the horrible doctrine that the very best of Pagans, heretics, and schismatics are condemned to suffer eternal tortures. Speaking of young Tiberius, who was murdered by order of the Emperor Caius, and compelled by the soldiers, as Philo relates it, to thrust a sword into his own body, he concludes the melancholy tale with this reflection,—*Thus by his own hand he ended his miserable life, to begin another the misery of which will never end.* Hist. des Emp. i. p. 142. Observe that this unhappy youth was then but nineteen years of age, that he had been bred up at court under Tiberius, in a sort of genteel prison, that probably he had never heard Christianity even mentioned, and that history relates no one bad thing concerning him: So that the Pagan ignorance of this child was altogether invincible, and might have been thought sufficient to qualify him at least for purgatory.

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

It is remarkable that in the little edition of Tillemont the passage stands thus—*he ended his miserable life*, what follows was added afterwards in the *quarto edit.* whence we may learn that the good man, as he grew older, grew more uncharitable in his religious notions. The apophthegm of Horace is not always true,

*Lenit albescens animos capillus.*

The hoary heads of some persons are like mount Ætna, where the snow and the fire dwell together in strict friendship.

*Sed,*



*Sed, quamvis nimio fervens exuberet aestu,*

*Scit nivibus servare fidem—*

*Claudian Rapt. Pros. i. 165.*

These are some of the doctrines which have unhappily helped to propagate Atheism or Deism, and have made many a man say to himself, *If this be Christianity, let my soul be with the philosophers.*

The old Christians were more charitable, and had nobler sentiments of the Divine benignity. Justin Martyr, in his *Apology*, i. 46. speaks handsomely of Socrates and of other worthy men in the Pagan world, and represents them as a sort of Christians, and doubtless entertained favourable thoughts of their future state. Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμύσαμεν λόγον οὕτω, τοῦ πάντων γένους ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε· καὶ οἱ μέγα λόγους βιώσαντες, Χριστιανοὶ ἐστί, καὶ ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν. οἷον ἐν Ἑλλήσι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς—ὥστε καὶ οἱ προγενόμενοι ἄνευ λόγου βιώσαντες, ἄχρηστοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἦσαν, καὶ φονεῖς τῶν μέγα λόγους βιόντων· οἱ δὲ μέγα λόγους βιώσαντες, καὶ βιώντες, Χριστιανοὶ καὶ ἄφοβοι, καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάρχουσι. *Christum primogenitum Dei esse ac Rationem illam, cujus omne hominum genus particeps est, didicimus, et supra declaravimus. Et qui cum ratione vixerunt, Christiani sunt, etiam si athei existimati sint; quales apud Græcos fuere Socrates et Heraclitus, iisque similes—Similiter qui olim absque ratione vixere, improbi et Christo inimici fuere, et eorum qui cum ratione vivebant, homicidæ. Qui vero cum ratione vixerunt et vivunt, Christiani sunt, atque impavidi atque intrepidi.* Ed. Paris. 1742. Now turn to the preface, pag. xxxii. and see the Benedictin Editor, fighting for a theological system which has nothing at all to do with an edition of Justin, and taking great pains to clear the good father from the shameful imputation of supposing that a virtuous Pagan might be saved,



ved, as well as a monk. What will the Benedictin say for Clemens Alexandrinus? This learned and good-natured father was of opinion that Christ and his apostles preached the gospel in *hades* to the dead, and that the souls which repented and believed were received to favour; ἐπεὶ ζωήριαί, καὶ παιδευτικαὶ αἱ \* κολάσεις τῷ Θεῷ, εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν ἄγυσται, καὶ τὴν μέλαιναιον τῶ ἀμαρτωλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν θάνατον αἰρήμεναι καὶ ταῦτα καθαρώτερον διορᾶν δυναμένων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένων ψυχῶν, καὶ πάθεισιν ἐπιστοτῶνται, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι ΕΠΙΠΡΟΣΘΕΣΘΑΙ ζωρίῳ. *Sunt enim salutare, et quæ erudiunt, Dei castigationes, adducentes ad conversionem, et potius pœnitentiam peccatoris eligentes quam mortem: idque præcipue cum possint animæ purius perspicere, quæ sunt liberæ a corporibus, etiamsi obscurentur perturbationibus, eo quod non se amplius eis opponat et impediât caruncula.*

I think it should be, —ἐπιπροσδεῖσθαι ζωρίῳ, *obnubilari*, from ἐπιπροσδέω. *For the corrections of God are salutary, and instructive, leading to amendment, and preferring the repentance to the death of a sinner; and souls in their separate state, though obumbrated with perturbations, yet have a clearer discernment, than they had whilst they were in the body, as they are no longer clouded and encumbered with the flesh.* Strom. vi. p. 764. See also p. 794. and the notes.

IN

\* Διαφέρει δὲ τιμωρία ἔ κολάσις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κολάσις τῷ πάσχοντι ἐνεκά ἐστι· ἡ δὲ τιμωρία τῷ ποιῆντι· says Aristotle. In Xenophon. *Oecon.* terra κολάζεται, i. e. *emendatur*. See A. Gellius vi. 14. Θεὸς δὲ ἔ τιμωρεῖται. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ τιμωρία, κατὰ ἀναπόδοσιν· κολάζει μέντοι πρὸς τὸ χρησίμον ἔ κοινή καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς κολαζομένοις. Clemens Strom. vii. p. 895. Origin was of the same opinion, and perhaps carried it somewhat farther.

IN the EPISTLES of IGNATIUS there is a harshness of style, but a lively spirit, and a noble enthusiasm, especially in that to the Romans.

He tells the *Ephesians* that he had a design to write them another letter, and to instruct them in some points, *μάλιστα εἰάν ὁ Κύριός μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ, especially if the Lord should reveal any thing to me.* Whence it seems not improbable that he had been favoured with some revelations. xx.

The same inference may be made from these words to the *Philadelph.* vii. *When I exhorted you to adhere to your bishop, presbyters, and deacons, some of you suspected that I had been informed of dissensions amongst you, μάρτυς δέ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσεν λέγων τάδε. Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιῆτε. Testis autem mihi is est, in quo vinctus sum, quod a carne humana non cognoverim; sed Spiritus annuntiavit, dicens ista; Sine Episcopo nihil facite.*

*Ad Rom.* vii. Ζῶν ᾧ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τε ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσαύρωσαι, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ, πῦρ φιλόϋλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, ἢ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον, δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. *Vivens enim scribo vobis amore captus moriendi. Meus amor crucifixus est; et non est in me ignis amans materiæ. Sed aqua vivens et loquens in me, intus mihi dicit; Veni ad Patrem.*

There is in this something very sublime and pathetic. The expression ὕδωρ λαλῶν resembles the *vocales undæ* which inspired the poets and prophets. Statius *Silv.* i. ii. 6.

*Et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam.*

An oracle of Apollo Delphicus given to Julian, and preserved by Cedrenus :

Εἶπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, χαμαὶ πῶς δαίδαλος αὐλά.  
οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, ἢ μάντιδα δάρηνη,  
οὐ παγὰν λαλέσαν, ἀπέσβετο ἢ λάλον ὕδωρ.

*Dicite*

*Dicite regi, humi cecidit elegans aula.*

*Non amplius Phæbus habet casam, non vaticinatri-  
cem laurum,*

*Non fontem loquentem, extincta est etiam garrula  
aqua.*

In these verses, which, to do them justice, are elegant, Apollo, to raise Julian's compassion, deploras the silence of his oracles and of the *speaking streams*. In the first line read βασιλῆι.

Anacreon, xiii.

Οἱ δὲ Κλάρε παρ' ὄχθαις

Δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβε

Δάλον πiónηες ὕδωρ

Μεμνηότες βοῶσιν.

*Nec non aquam bibentes*

*Apollinis loquacem*

*Ripis Clari, furore*

*Acti subinde clamant.*

*Vetus Interpres* (says Cotelarius): Et non est in me ignis amans aliquam aquam: sed vivens et loquens est in me. *Hoc est Græce*; Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλεῖν τι ὕδωρ· ζῶν δὲ καὶ λαλῶν, αὐτὸ λαλῶμενον ἐν ἐμοί. In *Interpolatâ* Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλεῖν τι ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί. Et non est in me ignis qui aliquid amet: sed aqua viva, intra me faliens. *Ex antiquo Interprete*; Et non est in me, aqua autem alia viva manet in me. *Legebatur quippe ἄλλο et μένι, loco ἀλλόμενον: et omisit quæ non intelligebat. Apud Metaphrastem, quem sequuntur Græci in Menæo*; Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦλον· ὕδωρ δὲ μάλλον ζῶν καὶ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί. Et non est in me ignis amans materiæ: aqua vero potius vivens et loquens in me, *Perplaceret mihi*; Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, καὶ ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί. Nam φιλοῦλον Julianus Ignatii interpolati codex retinuit. ἀλλόμενον autem confirmatur per illud Johan-

nis iv. 14. τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλομένης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Aqua quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aquæ salientis in vitam æternam. *Græci conjunctim*; Οὐκ ἔσχεις πῦρ φιλόῦλον ἐν σοί, Ἰγνατίε· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν μᾶλλον καὶ λαλῶν, δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ὕδωρ τὸ ἀλλόμενον, τὸ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωὴν μελοχέειν ἡμᾶς.

Le Clerc says, *Est in Exemplari Græco*, πῦρ φιλόῦλον. *Ignis materialis est* φιλόῦλος, amans materiæ; *quâ nempe alitur*. *Sed spiritualis ignis, quo urebatur Ignatius, materiæ, hoc est, rerum corporearum, amans non erat. Quod est nonnihil coactum, ut et sequentia de aquâ in eo loquente. Sed sancti viri sermo refertus est ejusmodi violentis adlusionibus.*

The λαλῶν ὕδωρ must not be altered: it is sufficiently confirmed by the citations of Cotelierius in this very note where he is inclined to reject it; and it is more elegant and proper than Le Clerc imagined.

Ignatius, who was a Syrian, and a bishop of Antioch, was well acquainted with the oracle of *Apollo Daphneus*, and with the *Castalian fountain*, which were at his door, and which are frequently mentioned by ecclesiastical writers. Sozomen in his description of *Daphne*, says, Ἦν γὰρ ἐνθάδε Δαφναίς Ἀπόλλωνος περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα, καὶ νεὸς μεγαλοφυῶς τε καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐξειργασμένος—ἐπιστεύει δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ταῦτε πρεσβεύουσι, ρεῖν αὐτόθι καὶ ὕδωρ μαντικὸν ἀπὸ Κασαλίας τῆς πηγῆς, ὁμοίως τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐνεργείας τε καὶ προσηγορίας λαχόνσης. *Erat enim illic Apollinis Daphnæi pulcherrimum simulacrum et templum magnifice atque ambitiose constructum.—Credebatur etiam ab illis qui ista colunt et prædicant, aquam illic divinatricem fluere ex fonte Castalio, qui idem nomen eandemque efficaciam haberet, quam ille Delphicus.* v. 19.

Ignatius therefore opposes to the *speaking prophetic waters* of the Pagans, the *living waters* mentioned by  
our



our Lord in *John* iv. 14. which *speak* better and nobler things than the fabulous and poetic fountains. The interpolator, who could not put himself in the place of Ignatius, and had not the same thoughts and images which arose in the mind of the martyr, flung away ὕδωρ λαλῶν, the *speaking water*, which he understood not, and for which he had no taste, and put in ὕδωρ ἀλλομένον to make it a closer copy from St John.

In the interpolated epistle πῦρ φιλεῖντι is absurd ; but φιλόῦλον πῦρ makes good sense. He who in this passage, which we have been examining, can prefer the *larger* to the *shorter* epistle, must be a critic, who, of different expressions, likes the worst the best, and should be fed with chaff.

They who contend for the *larger* epistles would do well to weigh one thing, which they never seem to think of, namely, that whilst they want to support I know not what, they are hurting the reputation of an apostolical father, whom they have in great esteem ; for if the passages which I have already pointed out, and those which others have censured, could be shewed to be genuine, Ignatius would be much less valued than he is by men of sense and judgment. But tho' the shorter epistles are on many accounts preferable to the larger, yet I will not affirm that they have undergone no alteration at all.

Ignatius suffered under Trajan about the beginning of the second century. Here was a good man put to death by a good emperor ; but the Pagans then began to perceive that Christianity, if it prevailed, would prove the ruin of their religion, and some of them probably persuaded Trajan to act contrary to his disposition, which was mild and placable. Pliny, in his epistle to that emperor, says, that in his province the

temples had been in a manner deserted, sacrificing left off, and the worship of the gods neglected. Trajan forbade the Christians to be sought after, and yet ordered them to be punished if convicted. *O sententiam necessitate confusam! negat inquirendos, ut innocentes; et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes.—Quid temet ipsum censurâ circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis?* Thus Tertullian, in his *Apologetic*, inveighs, ingeniously enough against the inconsistency and absurdity of this sentence, and has had the good fortune to engage most of his readers in the same way of thinking; and yet, after all, the emperor's decree was not quite so absurd as Tertullian imagined. Trajan had no hatred towards the men, and pitied their case, but disliked their religion for the reason above mentioned; therefore he was willing to treat the Christians gently, but would neither repeal the laws to which they were obnoxious, nor give them leave to exercise their religion freely.

Ignatius expressed an earnest desire to suffer for the sake of Christ, and a great joy at the expectation of it; but it appears not that he rashly sought or provoked danger. To him might be applied these lines of Lucan \*, which suit him as if they were made for him:

*Projeci vitam, comites, totusque futura  
Mortis agor stimulus.—Agnoscere solis  
Permissum est, quos jam tangit vicinia fati,  
Victurosque Dei celant, ut vivere durent,  
Felix esse mori.*

He speaks of himself with modesty and humility; he exhorts the Christians to live peaceably together, and to pay a high regard to their bishops and pastors, and has gone too far in his expressions; but it is something of an excuse for him that the state of the times

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\* Le Clerc, Hist. Eccl. p. 566.

led him to it. It was to be feared lest the heretics, who in those days were vile persons, should seduce the unwary; and mutual quarrels might have proved fatal to the common cause. A house ill cemented, and beaten with the storms of persecution, could not have stood.

In his *Epistle to the Romans* he desires them not to interpose, and by any ways endeavour to preserve him from martyrdom, and he says that the wild beasts had feared and refused to touch some who had been thrown to them \*, which he hoped would not happen to him.

ἀ [Ἐπιό] ἡ κολακεύσω συνόμοις με καλάραιεν, ἔχ ὥσπερ τῶν δειναιόμενα ἔχ ἡψαίτο †. *Quas et blanditiis demulcebo, ut citius me devorent; non ut quosdam veritæ non attigerunt,*

v. So afterwards, when Blandina was exposed, none of the beasts would kill her, says Eusebius, who took it from an authentic history of the martyrs of Lions in Gaul, v. 1. In Diocletian's persecution, Eusebius was eye-witness to such a thing; and somewhat of this kind is related in the Acts of Perpetua. This forbearance of the beasts, though it did not save the lives of the martyrs, yet it animated and comforted the distressed Christians; it reproved the pagans for their worse than brutish cruelty ‡, and it might possibly be the

P 3

happy

\* I know not whether Ignatius had in view any Christian martyrs, or Daniel, who was cast into the den of lions.

† In Ignatius and Eusebius it is ἡψαίτο. Stephanus reads ἡψαίτο, which probably is right, because—μὴ θέλει follows. But as to the rule in our grammars, *Neutra pluralia gaudent verbo singulari*, there are abundance of exceptions to it, particularly in the Scriptures. See in the LXX, Gen. xlviii. 6. Isa. lxiv. 3. Zach. xiii. 7. and Matt. vi. 26. x. 21. Marc. v. 13. xiii. 12. Luke xxiv. 11. John x. 8. Rev. xxi. 4. Homer. Il. T. 29.

—μή τοι ταῦτα μέλλ' φρεσὶ σῇσι μελόντων.

‡ *Mitius inveni, quam te, genus omne feratum.*

happy occasion of converting some, who might be inclined to say at such a sight,

—*non hæc sine numine Divûm*

*Eveniunt.*

If the lions had been let loose upon Ignatius in the amphitheatre, and had retired and left him unhurt, or fawned upon him, the spectators might possibly have been moved of themselves, or incited by his friends, who were present, to beg the life, or at least the reprieve, of a venerable old man, whom the very brutes had spared, and who seemed protected by heaven ; and such kind of favours were seldom refused to those assemblies. Thus Androcles was saved by the good offices of his old and grateful friend, the lion, and had his life, and liberty, and the lion, given to him, at the request of the people. *A. Gellius* v. 14. *Populi in arenâ præcipuum jus*, says Lipsius, *et ad ejus voluntatem domini plerumque se conformabant.* Saturn. ii. 22. The emperor, it will be said, had condemned him to the lions. But what then ? if the lions would not kill him, the magistrate might, without offence, if he had been so disposed, have respited the martyr's death, till the emperor's farther pleasure should be known.

It must be confessed after all, that such wonders are somewhat ambiguous, because wild beasts are not always in a fighting humour, and might be terrified by the strangeness of the place and noise of the populace, and therefore we find that they sometimes used fire, and whips, and other methods to irritate them ; but even these methods were tried in vain, says Eusebius, speaking of what happened to his own knowledge.

Josephus



Josephus relates that one of the Ptolemy's exposed the Jews of Egypt (in the Hippodrome) to be killed by his elephants, whom he had intoxicated with wine, to make them more furious ; but the beasts, instead of assaulting the poor Jews, turned upon the spectators and destroyed many of them. This, and some terrible appearance, so frightened the king, that he acknowledged the divine interposition, and set them free, and conferred many favours on them. Josephus adds, that the Jews of Alexandria kept a day in commemoration of this deliverance. *Contr. Apion.* ii. 5. See also *Maccab.* iii. 3, 4, 5. and Prideaux, *Connect.* ii. p. 86. Fol. ed. \*

It was not necessary that the Christians should be miraculously saved ; the favours promised to them by their Master were of another kind : Jesus Christ would not save himself from crucifixion, but he struck those to the ground who came to seize him, and the troubled elements bare witness to his dignity and to his innocence. St Stephen's martyrdom was also attended with miraculous circumstances. It is therefore no insuperable objection to any wonders which are related to have accompanied the death of the martyrs, that they did not preserve the sufferers. If indeed they are not well attested, or if they appear to have been of the trifling useless kind, and void of all *moral import* ; if milk instead of blood flowed from their wounds, and sweet odours issued from the fag-gots, and pigeons flew out of their mouths, the case is altered, and there is some reason to doubt of such miracles. So again ; if a monk smelt like a civet-cat

P 4

when

\* To this it will perhaps be said, that it is no marvel if a *drunken beast* turned upon his driver.

when he was dead, who smelt like a pole-cat when he was alive, this can hardly pass for a proper and sufficient proof of his sanctity.

The repeated wish of Ignatius was, that he might be torn to pieces and eaten up, that, as he says, he might give no one the trouble of paying him funeral rites.

*Vota suos habuere deos—*

His wish was accomplished, and of his body very little was left undevoured.

The account of his martyrdom, in the *Patres Apostolici*, vol. ii. p. 157. has the appearance of being genuine, except the last section, which contains the *dreams* of his friends, and which might possibly be added by another hand. See Le Clerc.

They who reject all the epistles of Ignatius as spurious, reject also the account of his martyrdom. It is inconceivable, say they, that Trajan should have sent an old man, by land, at a great expence, attended with soldiers, from Syria to Rome, instead of casting him to the lions at Antioch: it is also improbable that when he was thus guarded and conducted, he should have been permitted to converse with the Christians, and to give them instructions, and to write epistles, in the several cities through which he passed. The answer is obvious:

Trajan sent him by land, on purpose, to shew him about, and to make an example of him as of a ring-leader of the sect, παραδειγματίζειν, and to deter the Christians from preaching and spreading their religion; and for the same reason he sent him to be executed at Rome, where there were many Christians, and which, as it was the capital of the world, so was it the head quarters of all sorts of religions. *Repressa*  
in

*in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque.* Tacitus *Ann.* xv. 44. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes that though there were six hundred nations, which, in a manner, had taken up their abode at Rome, each of which had its own sacred rites, yet no foreign religion had been publicly received by the Romans, or at least not till they had purged and corrected it, and rendered it conformable to their own.

In the time of Trajan, Christianity had made such a progress, that the Romans were jealous, and uneasy at it.

The soldiers who had the custody of Ignatius, made a considerable advantage of him, and, as we observed before, took money of the Christians for the small indulgence which they shewed to their prisoner, and would have been glad that he had written a hundred epistles, if they could have obtained a present for each.

Trajan had many excellent qualities, and Pope Gregory is said to have prayed his soul out of hell \*, though Tillemont seems to give no credit to the story, since he passes it by in silence, and pronounces a sentence of † reprobation upon the emperor. Amongst other commendable things which Trajan did,  
he

\* Bayle's Dict. TRAJAN.

† Ses cendres furent receus à Rome en triomphe, dans un char sur lequel on avoit mis son image : et l'on a encore des marques de ce triomphe, si lugubre pour tout le monde, et surtout pour celui qu'on vouloit relever par ces honneurs imaginaires, et que le vray Dieu punissoit dans les enfers—&c. *Hist. des Emp.* tom. ii. p. 205.

he relaxed the tribute called *vicesima*, so as to make it less burdensome.

Dio Cassius says that Augustus established a treasury for the payment of the army, and upon a deficiency, many ways being proposed by the senators, and all of them rejected, he fixed upon this expedient, which seems to have been of his own contriving, though he fathered it upon Julius Cæsar, that a *twentieth* should be paid into the treasury of all inheritances, and legacies bequeathed by will, from which however he exempted those who were near of kin; he also excepted those who were poor, by which, I suppose, was meant that when the inheritance was small and under a certain value, and the inheritor also was poor, nothing was demanded. See *Dio*, lib. lv. p. 566.

Augustus contributed largely to this fund out of his own income, and as he had many legacies left him, he must have often paid his *twentieth*. However the Romans, as Dio tells us afterwards, were excessively uneasy at this tax, till Augustus by convincing them that a better could not be contrived, and by putting them in fear of something worse, persuaded them to be quiet. L. lvi. p. 588.

Thus it continued, and the younger Pliny, a very competent judge, and a very honest man, mentions it, not without approbation, as one of those necessary evils, which was the least oppressive. *The Twentieth*, says he, *is a tax tolerable enough, and easy to the inheritor, if he is not related to the deceased; but very hard, if he is near of kin*: and he commends Nerva and Trajan for mitigating this law in favour of new made citizens, who, it seems, had been obliged to pay the twentieth, howsoever related to the testator, as also  
for



for moderating it in some other instances which deserve to be perused. *Paneg.* ap. 37. &c.

When a person died intestate, it is to be supposed that the heir at law was subject to the same tax, if he came not within the degrees of relation which were exempted.

This tribute must have amounted to a prodigious sum ; for the Roman empire was of a vast extent, the nobility and gentry were very rich, and often had no children to inherit their fortunes, and the arts of flattering the rich by those who were called *Heredipetæ*, *legacy-hunters*, were much practised at Rome ; so that many legacies were continually left to friends, to companions in iniquity, to freed-men and parasites : and this, by the way, suggests one reason, not observed by Dio, why much clamour was made at Rome against the tax.

What made the taxes in general heavy to the Romans, and to the nations which were in subjection to them, was that they were farmed and collected by the publicans, a sort of sharpers, who were troublesome every where, especially in the remoter provinces ; so that the government was forced from time to time to pare their nails, and to browbeat them, and to make laws, in some of which they are set out in sorry colours. See *Digest.* L. xxxix. *Tit.* iv. 12.

Whether this method deserves any notice and consideration, is submitted to those whom it concerns.

☞ In the first edition the following paragraph was added :—" The Reader will perceive, without being told it in due form, that he has here only part of a work. The rest may possibly make its appearance some day ; but what is now published is so far at least complete, as to have little dependance upon any thing that may follow."



## APPENDIX.

I REFERRED the Reader, p. 91. to the visions of Rice Evans, as containing some things not unworthy of notice. Mr Warburton has given me the following remarks on the man, and on his predictions; and the bishop of Bangor \*, and he, have been willing to appear as my friends, and my coadjutors in this work.

*Ibit et hoc nostri per sæcula fœdus amoris,  
 Doctorumque inter nomina nomen ero :  
 Forsan et extinctum non spernet Patria dulcis,  
 Forsitan et dicet, Tu quoque noster eras.  
 Talibus inferiis placabilis Umbra quiescet,  
 Lenibunt Manes talia dona meos.  
 Interea Labor ipse levat fastidia vitæ :  
 Æterno rectum sub Duce pergat iter !  
 Scriptores sancti, salvete, et cana Vetustas ;  
 Salve, Musa, nimis blanda tenaxque comes :  
 Tu puero teneris penitus dilecta sub annis ;  
 Tune etiam emerito cura futura viro ?  
 Ne tamen æternum, mæsta atque irata, recede,  
 Sed raro, sed vix sæpe rogata, veni.  
 Hæc, Fortuna, tuis non sunt obnoxia regnis,  
 Livor in hæc poterit juris habere nihil.*

“ You desired to have a more particular account  
 “ of a certain prophecy of one *Rice Evans*, which you  
 “ have heard some of your friends speak of in terms  
 “ of

\* Whose Dissertation on the destruction of Jerusalem is inserted above, p. 38—44.

“ of astonishment; as I have his book, which is  
 “ scarce, I am able to give you that satisfaction.  
 “ But it may not be amiss first to let you into the  
 “ character of the prophet. Rice Evans lived and  
 “ flourished in the last century, during the time of  
 “ our civil confusions. He was a warm Welshman,  
 “ and not disposed to be an idle spectator in so busy a  
 “ scene. So he left his native country for London;  
 “ and finding, on his arrival there, that *inspiration*  
 “ was all running one way, he projected to make a  
 “ diversion of it from the round-heads to the cava-  
 “ liers, and set up for a prophet of the royalists. He  
 “ did and said many extraordinary things to the gran-  
 “ dees of both parties; and it must be owned, he had  
 “ a spice of what we seldom find wanting in the in-  
 “ gredients of a modern prophet, I mean *prevarica-*  
 “ *tion*. Of this he has himself given us a notable ex-  
 “ ample in the 42d page of his Tract, called *An Eccho*  
 “ *from Heaven*, &c. which, because it contains an un-  
 “ common fetch of wit, I shall transcribe. *There are*  
 “ *two confessions*, says he, *subscribed by my hand in the*  
 “ *city of London, which if not now, in after-ages will be*  
 “ *considered. The one was made at the Spittle, and*  
 “ *subscribed with the right hand, in the aforesaid vestry,*  
 “ *before Sir Walter Earl; and that is a confession*  
 “ *made by the inner man, or new man. The other con-*  
 “ *fession is a confession of the flesh, called the outward*  
 “ *man, or old man, and the confession I made before Green*  
 “ *[the recorder] and subscribed with the left hand, as*  
 “ *the difference in the writing, being compared, will make*  
 “ *it appear. I know the bench and the people thought*  
 “ *I recanted, but, alas! they were deceived.*

“ Well, but this very man has in the 77 and 78  
 “ pages of this *Eccho*, printed for the author in 12mo,

“ and



“ and sold at his house in Long Alley in Black Friars,  
 “ 1653. second edition, with additions, a prophecy  
 “ which astonishes all who carefully consider it. It  
 “ is in these words.

“ *A vision that I had presently after the king's death.*

“ *I thought that I was in a great hall, like the shire-*  
 “ *hall, in the castle in Winchester, and there was none*  
 “ *there but a judge that sat upon the bench, and myself;*  
 “ *and as I turned to a window north-westward, and look-*  
 “ *ing into the palm of my hand, there appeared to me a*  
 “ *face, head and shoulders, like the Lord Fairfaxes, and*  
 “ *presently it vanished again; then arose the Lord Crom-*  
 “ *well, and he vanished likewise; then arose a young*  
 “ *face, and he had a crown upon his head, and he vanish-*  
 “ *ed also; and another young face arose with a crown*  
 “ *on his head, and he vanished also; and another*  
 “ *young face arose with a crown upon his head, and he*  
 “ *vanished also; and another young face arose with a*  
 “ *crown upon his head, and vanished in like manner:*  
 “ *and as I turned the palm of my hand back again to me,*  
 “ *and looked, there did appear no more in it. Then I*  
 “ *turned to the judge, and said to him, There arose in*  
 “ *my hand seven, and five of them had crowns; but when*  
 “ *I turned my hand, the blood turned to its veins, and*  
 “ *there appeared no more: so I awoke.*

“ *The interpretation of this vision is, that after the*  
 “ *Lord Cromwell there shall be kings again in England,*  
 “ *which thing is signified unto us by those that arose af-*  
 “ *ter him, who were all crowned; but the generations to*  
 “ *come may look for a change of the blood, and of the*  
 “ *name in the royal seat after five kings reign once*  
 “ *passed. 2 Kings x. 30.*

“ [The words referred to in this text are these,  
 “ *And the Lord said unto Jehu, because thou hast done*  
 “ *well,*

“ *well, &c. thy children of the fourth generation shall sit*  
 “ *on the throne of Israel.]*

“ The restoration of the monarchy is here plainly  
 “ predicted ; together with the crown’s passing from  
 “ the house of Stuart into another family. But the  
 “ prophet at first sight appears to be doubtful about  
 “ the number of reigns before that event. He reckons  
 “ up in his hand only *four* successions to the monar-  
 “ chy, yet in his speech to the judge he calls them  
 “ *five* : in his interpretation he says the change shall  
 “ be after the reign of *five* kings ; and yet referring,  
 “ in conclusion, to a text in the second book of *Kings*,  
 “ we are brought back again to the number *four*.  
 “ But it is this very circumstance which makes the  
 “ prodigious part of this affair. A good guesser  
 “ (who, an ancient writer says, is the best prophet)  
 “ might reasonably conjecture the monarchy, after  
 “ the subverter of it, Cromwell, was taken off, would  
 “ be restored ; and, if it continued in the same fami-  
 “ ly for *four* or *five* generations, that was as much as,  
 “ in the ceaseless revolutions of human affairs, could  
 “ be expected. But we shall find there was some-  
 “ thing more in this matter. The succession of the  
 “ house of Stuart, during the course of these *four*  
 “ generations, was disturbed, and that circumstance  
 “ our prophet has distinctly marked out. The *four*  
 “ crowned heads he saw in his hand denote Charles  
 “ the II. James II. Queen Mary, and Queen Anne.  
 “ They are afterwards called *five* : and so they were ;  
 “ for King William III. shared the sovereignty with  
 “ Queen Mary, and reigned alone after her. But he  
 “ being of another family, when the *succession* in the  
 “ house of Stuart is reckoned up, he could not be  
 “ numbered : so they must be there called *four*.

“ When

“ When the prophet reckons the *reigns*, King Wil-  
 “ liam comes in, and then they are called *five*. The  
 “ key to this explanation is the text he concludes with  
 “ —*Thy children of the FOURTH generation shall sit on*  
 “ *the throne*.

“ A great and extraordinary genius lately deceased,  
 “ struck with this wonderful coincidence, hath writ-  
 “ ten with his own hand in the margin of the page,  
 “ these words, *A manifest Prophecy*. You know who  
 “ I mean. But every one must judge for himself,  
 “ unless (which I had rather) you would give us  
 “ your own sentiments upon it.

“ But now my hand is in, as you have had one of  
 “ his *visions*, you shall have a *dream* too, as he tells it  
 “ in the 12th page of the first, and the 8th page of  
 “ his second edition.—*My heart was for London; and,*  
 “ —*as one Mr Oliver Thomas preached, Cant. ii. 10.*  
 “ *Arise up, my love, my fair one, and come away,—my*  
 “ *heart was allured with it, that I thought it was a has-*  
 “ *tening of me to London; and at that time, in a dream,*  
 “ *methought I was on Islington-hill by the water-house,*  
 “ *and London appeared before me as if it had been burnt*  
 “ *with fire, and there remained nothing of it but a few*  
 “ *stone walls: but I made nothing of this dream.*

“ Whosoever reflects upon what we are told by  
 “ Burnet in the *History of his own times*, vol. i. p. 231.  
 “ of the condition in which the works were put at the  
 “ *water-house at Islington*, when the fire of London  
 “ happened, cannot but think Evans’ making this the  
 “ scene of his dream a very unaccountable circum-  
 “ stance. His telling us that *he made nothing of this*  
 “ *dream* adds to the credit of his relation.”

It is observable that in the first edition printed in  
 VOL. I. Q. the

the year 1652. Evans reckons up *five*, not *four* young faces in his hand, and he concludes only thus :

*All that I apprehend by this vision is, that after the Lord Cromwell we shall have a king again in England.*

My thoughts are the same with Mr Warburton's, that the visions of Evans are a curiosity deserving to be known, but not a foundation to build any thing upon.

Evans says, p. 16. of edit. 1652.—*Being perfectly awake—a voice—said to me, Go to thy book ; whereupon—I suddenly started up, and to the table I went, where my Bible lay open, immediately fastening my eyes upon Ephes. v. 14. being these words, Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light, &c.* The same thing he did at other times. Evans, who was illiterate, little thought that he was practising a kind of divination in great request amongst the Pagans, and the ancient Jews and Christians, who had recourse to their *Sortes Homericae*, *Virgilianae*, *Evangelicae*, and *Biblicae*. The same causes produce the same effects, and nothing is more like one enthusiast, mystic, cabbalist, or quietist, than another.

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## A D D E N D A.

### P. 115.

Tiresias had an oracle at Orchomenus, which having been famous for some ages, was silent after a plague had raged in that town. It is highly probable, as Bayle observes, that the distemper swept away all the priests, and that none was left to conduct the affair, and to forge responses. *Bayle Dict. TIRESIAS.*

As



As to the evil dæmons, it is to be supposed that the plague did not destroy them, and that they were as capable of prophesying after as before it.

## P. 116.

There are drugs which will make a man delirious.

“ Father *Ange de S. Joseph*, a Carmelite and missionary in the Levant, relates that a person worthy of credit having taken a pill of Persian opium, was forced, for many hours, to laugh and to talk nonsense, in spite of himself. He saw little phantasms pass before his eyes, and goblins who made a very grotesque appearance, and felt several other extraordinary effects, without any bad consequence.

“ This example shews how certain compositions can operate upon the imagination and the senses. The father did not care to say that himself was the person to whom this happened: but Chardin attests it in his *Voyages*.” *Beausobre*, *Hist. de Manich.* i. p. 186.

END OF BOOK FIRST,



TO THE  
MOST REVEREND  
T H O M A S,  
LORD ARCHBISHOP  
OF  
CANTERBURY.

MY LORD,

*IF I accost your Grace, not with modern politeness, but with ancient simplicity, the subject in which I am engaged, and the course of my studies will, I hope, plead my excuse.*

*I am indebted, my Lord, to an illustrious person for unsolicited favours—favours valuable in themselves; but made doubly so by the giver; by the manner, by being conferred upon one who had received few obligations of this kind, and by settling him amongst those whom he had great reason to love and to esteem; and I appeal, not to your Grace, but to all others; whether I should be excusable, if I neglected or delayed to publish this acknowledgement, which I cannot send forth without a warm, though perhaps a vain wish; that it may be as lasting as it is sincere.*

*The discourtesies which we experience, are things too common and too insignificant to deserve a place in our memory or in our writings: it is best to bury them in eternal oblivion, and in their room to substitute the good offices of our friends, which ought to be remembered and recorded with pleasure. These testimonies of our gratitude should accompany the offspring of our invention*

*and industry, that both may descend hand in hand to posterity, and either live together, or die together.*

*The ecclesiastical miracles, after the days of the apostles, and the authority of the fathers and historians upon which they depend, have been a subject of contention. This hath produced two opposite parties, and I cannot flatter myself with the hopes of pleasing either the one or the other.*

*However, since what is offered upon this head in the following Remarks, is only an appendage, and the principal intention of the whole is to defend and recommend Christianity which is daily assaulted and insulted, the attempt at least may claim the approbation of all candid judges, and is not unworthy of your Grace's countenance and protection; happy, if it should be instrumental in instructing or amending any who have deviated from the sacred paths of truth and duty!*

*Permit me, my Lord, to make a transition from my Patron to the rest of my Readers, and to inform those who may think this address deficient in the most essential part, in the part where modern writers usually employ all their skill, that it was a custom amongst the ancients, not to sacrifice to heroes till after sun-set.*

I am,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

A. D. 1752.

JOHN JORTIN.



# REMARKS

ON

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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### BOOK SECOND.

ONE of the great arguments for the truth of Christianity is taken from the miracles of our Saviour and his apostles:

It seems to be rashness for us, who know so little of the powers of intellectual and spiritual agents, and of the scheme of divine providence, to affirm that (the miracles of the Old and New Testament excepted) God never wrought any, or never suffered any to be wrought by spirits good or evil. It is true, that fraud, and fiction; and credulity, and ignorance of natural powers, and a strong imagination, and a disordered understanding, and misguided zeal have been the parents of ten thousand false wonders.

Van Dale rejected every thing of the preternatural kind, which is related to have appeared in the Pagan world, and resolved it all into imposture, and said that there were no real miracles, any more than real predictions, except those of which God was the author: but Le Clerc, in his account of Van Dale's works, shews that this is affirming too much, and talking unphilosophically, and that we have not sufficient grounds to determine in so positive a manner.

*Bibl. Chois.* III. p. 106. Le Clerc might perhaps have fallen into Van Dale's opinion, to which he had a certain propensity, if he had not been a careful reader of Cudworth and Grew. These two Christian philosophers led him into another way of thinking, and suggested to him strong motives for hesitation.

A miracle is a sensible operation, contrary to the common course of nature, wrought either by the immediate act, or by the assistance, or by the permission of God.

Miracles cannot directly prove the truth or falsehood, the reasonableness or absurdity of any doctrine. As they are appeals to our senses, so are doctrines to our reason. They are properly credentials and testimonials, which, when a man can produce openly and fairly, if he teaches nothing absurd, much more if his doctrines and precepts appear to be good and beneficial, he ought to be obeyed.

Some learned men have affirmed that God alone can work miracles, which is not to be proved by reason, nor to be reconciled with the Scriptures without giving them the torture, and stretching or paring them to the hypothesis; and the contrary notion is more prevalent. But opinions fall and rise again, and we may expect to see this discarded system set up to try its fortune once more.

This inconvenience attends it, that, if every miraculous operation be ascribed to God alone, when once a miracle is judged to be well attested, all inquiries into the reasonableness of the doctrine which it was wrought to support are in a manner superseded; but in the other system, which supposes that evil spirits may work miracles as well as good ones, full leave is  
left

left to examine the doctrines, and less danger of being led astray.

But God will not permit evil spirits to delude men. Say—to delude wise and good men to their hurt ; and it is true. He permits evil men to impose upon some persons by false wonders and impostures, and then, *Homo homini Dæmon* ; as to the consequences, the effect is the same, and the believer is deluded, though no devil over-reaches him.

The miracles recorded in the New Testament recommend themselves to our belief upon the following accounts :

1. They were wrought by persons who gave other proofs of their mission, and who rest not the whole of their cause upon miracles, but insist also upon the reasonableness of their doctrines, and offer them to examination.

2. By persons who appealed to God, and declared that they would perform them. By acting in the name of the God and Father of all, they gave the best kind of proof that they were supported by him, and thereby prevented objections that the wonder might happen by chance, or be effected by a secret fatal power of which themselves knew nothing, or by evil dæmons, or for other ends and purposes ; and they laid themselves under a necessity of fulfilling their promises, or of passing for impostors.

3. By persons known to be poor, unlearned, of a low condition, and destitute of great friends and powerful patrons.

4. They were performed in a public manner, which is a circumstance necessary to establish their credit ; for though miracles may be wrought in secret, and cannot be disproved, only because they were seen by  
few,

few, yet they often afford motives for suspicion, and a wise enquirer would perhaps suspend his assent in such cases, and pass no judgment about them.

5. The writers of the New Testament, when they relate the miracles, often name the time, the place, the occasion, the circumstances, the diseases that were removed, the persons healed or raised, the persons who were present, and the things that were said and done by friends and foes on the occasion, giving men an opportunity to enquire into the facts, and to disprove them if they were able.

Quadratus, who wrote his Apology for Christianity about A. D. 124. says, that there were persons alive even in his days, upon whom Christ had wrought miracles ; and it is very probable that some of those who were cured of their infirmities, and raised from the dead by our Saviour, were preserved by Providence to an extreme old age, to be living witnesses of his power and goodness. *Apud. Euseb. iv. 3.*

6. They were performed before enemies, or unbelievers, or doubters and persons not yet convinced ; as indeed it was highly fit that they should ; for miracles, in the main, are not so much designed for those who believe, as for those who believe not, and who are as yet undetermined, and want proper motives of persuasion.

7. They were wrought in a learned age and civilized countries, and in the politest and best inhabited parts of the world, where persons are not easily deluded, and are rather disposed to hesitate upon strange and unexpected appearances, and to examine, than to be ductile and over credulous.

8. They were accompanied with no appearance of pride, vanity, and ostentation. When a man preaches  
up



up himself, and assumes haughty airs of importance and superiority, he gives cause for suspicion. Such was the case of Simon the magician, as St Luke represents him, who seems to have had for his principal view to pass for a very great person amongst the Samaritans. But the behaviour of the apostles, in this respect, was unexceptionable, and our Saviour during his ministry acted as a servant and a prophet sent from God, ascribing all his miracles to his Father.

9. They were wrought for no worldly advantage. As nothing of that kind was sought, so nothing was obtained by our Lord and by his disciples. Obscure indeed they could not be who were endued with such powers, and despised they could not be by their friends and followers; but these were small temporal advantages set against the obloquy, the opposition, the injuries, the afflictions, and the sufferings which they underwent. To do good and to receive evil was their portion, and poverty was their lot and their choice. *Quæ tamen passos Apostolos scimus, manifesta doctrina est; hanc intelligo solam Acta decurrens; nihil quæro; carceres illic, et vincula, et flagella, et saxa, et gladii, et impetus Judeorum, et cætus nationum, et tribunorum elogia, et regum auditoria, et proconsulum tribunalia, et Caesaris nomen, interpretem non habent. Tertullian, Scorpiac. p. 633.* where instead of *solam*, it should be *sola*, or *solum*; and for *habent*—*interpretem non avent*, or *havent*: want not, stand not in need of an interpreter.

10. They were wrought in confirmation of doctrines good and useful to mankind. The excellence of Christian morality will not be contested by fair and candid adversaries, and the few objections which may  
be

be made to it, are grounded on passages not rightly understood, nor justly interpreted.

11. They were performed at a time when men wanted neither power nor inclination to expose them if they were impostures, and were in no danger of being called atheists and heretics, and of being insulted by the populace, and persecuted by the civil magistrate for deriding them.

12. They were various and numerous, and of a permanent nature, and might be reviewed and re-examined. When our Saviour was risen from the dead, it could not be said of him, that he appeared only like a phantom for a moment ;

*Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra  
Esse sinunt :*

for he shewed himself alive to his apostles by many repeated infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days.

13. They had nothing fantastical and cruel, but were acts of kindness and beneficence, calculated to excite gratitude more than fear, and to persuade rather than to terrify. Our Saviour performed no miracles of the severe kind, and the apostles very few, and no more than were necessary for wise and good purposes.

14. They prevailed upon many persons to quit the religion in which they had been educated, and with it ease and pleasure and worldly conveniences, to give up ample fortunes, to disoblige their dearest friends and relations, to offend rulers and magistrates, to leave their country, and to suffer all kinds of temporal evils, and the loss of life.

15. They were attested by proper witnesses. The disciples of Christ saw the miracles of their master, and

and died in confirmation of them, particularly of his resurrection. St Paul appeals to the church of the Corinthians, that he had wrought miracles amongst them, and that they had miraculous gifts conferred upon them by the Holy Spirit. See *Disc. ii. on the Christ. Relig.*

16. They were foretold by the prophets, and such as the Jews expected, and had reason to expect from the Messias. Isaias speaks of times when miracles should be performed, and of a person who should open the eyes of the blind, and cause the lame to walk, and heal the diseased, which when Christ performed, he might justly affirm that he was the person promised by the prophet.

*Jesus said, Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, &c. Mat. xi. 4.*

*In that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness. The meek also shall increase their joy in the Lord, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel. Isaiah xxix. 18, 19.*

*Behold your God will come—Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing. xxxv. 4, 5, 6.*

*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the meek, &c. lxi. 1.*

*I the Lord—will give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles: to open the blind eyes, &c. xlii. 6, 7.*

*He*

*He hath born our griefs, and carried our sorrows.*  
 liii. 4.

*I will feed my sheep—and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick—and will set one shepherd over them, even my servant David.*  
 Ezekiel xxxiv.

To these must be added all the prophecies which speak of the afflictions and death, and of the triumphant success and everlasting dominion of the Messiah, and were fulfilled in his resurrection, ascension, &c.

17. They were acknowledged by adversaries. Besides the confessions of that kind recorded in the gospel, and the conversion of enemies, the Jewish objection, that they were wrought by evil spirits, and the Gentile objection, that they were effected by magic arts, were a kind of confession that there was in them something preternatural.

18. The same persons whose miracles stand recorded in the gospel, foretold also many events, some of which did not come to pass till a considerable time after the books of the New Testament were written, and the writers were dead. This confirms the miracles related in those books. We have predictions there of the dispersion of the Jews, of their continuance as a distinct people, of the calling of the Gentiles, of the perpetual duration of Christ's kingdom, of the fall of its enemies, of the particular corruptions which should find entrance into the Christian church, of the spiritual tyranny that should be erected, &c. See *Two Previous Questions*, p. 59, &c.

19. If we reflect upon the end and purpose for which these miracles were wrought, we find it grand and noble, full of dignity and majesty. It was to  
 carry



carry on one vast and consistent plan of providence, extending itself from the creation to the consummation of all things, to establish a system of belief, hope, and practice, plain and useful ; being no other than the religion of nature improved and enforced, revealed in part to the Jews, promised by the prophets, and tending to destroy four great moral evils, so prevalent and so pernicious, atheism, scepticism, superstitious idolatry, and vice.

Compare with these evangelical miracles, the Pagan miracles, as delivered to us by report, or the ecclesiastical miracles, after the church was supported by the state : but there is no comparison ; the latter were usually such as would make fools stare, and wise men suspect ; and as they began, so they ended in vain, establishing nothing, or what was worse than nothing ; if false, the tricks of deceitful men ; if true, the frolics of fantastical dæmons.

20. Lastly, the supposition that no miracles were wrought in confirmation of the gospel is not to be reconciled with the character, behaviour, and patient sufferings of Christ, of his apostles, and of the apostolical Christians, or with the propagation of our religion, or with those prophetic parts of the New Testament which have been fulfilled.

Thus far we have given the sum and substance of those arguments which are usually urged in defence of the miracles recorded in the New Testament. They are the plainest and the most obvious arguments, and consequently the most useful and satisfactory. To these I shall add some proofs which are more remote from common observation, and which perhaps have not been sufficiently considered.

*Avia jam solus peragro loca, nullius ante  
Trita solo.*

In few words, the observation which I would offer is this : The miracles of Christ were prophecies at the same time ; they were such miracles as in a particular manner suited his character, they were significant emblems of his designs, and figures aptly representing the benefits to be conferred by him upon mankind, and they had in them, if we may so speak, a spiritual sense. So much may be urged in behalf of this interpretation of them, as shall probably secure it from being ranked amongst those *fanciful expositions* which are generally slighted by wise men : for many *Cabbalistic notions* have made their appearance in this, as well as in other centuries and countries, which are even beneath censure or mention, and *neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dung-hill.*

Our Saviour's miracles were then of a beneficent nature, and such as might be expected from one who came to be an universal blessing.

He cast out evil spirits, who by the divine providence were permitted to exert themselves at that time, and to possess many persons. By this he shewed that he came to destroy the empire of Satan, and seemed to foretell, that wheresoever his doctrine should prevail, idolatry and vice should be put to flight.

He foresaw that the great and popular objection to him would be that he was a magician, and therefore he confuted it before hand, and ejected evil spirits, to shew that he was in no confederacy with them.

The miracle which he first wrought, and which on that account was remarkable, was his turning water into wine at a marriage feast,

There

There arose in the church, from ancient times, sects of heretics, who condemned wine, and the use of animal food; and marriage; and not only heretics, but the orthodox also ran into extravagant notions of the same kind, crying up celibacy and a solitary life beyond measure, together with rigid and uncommanded austerities and macerations of the body. Christ therefore, as we may conjecture, was present at this feast, and honoured it with this miracle, that it should stand in the gospel as a confutation of these foolish errors, and a warning to those who had ears to hear, not to be deluded by such fanatics. St John, who records this miracle, lived to see these false doctrines adopted and propagated.

He gave sight to the blind, a miracle well suiting him who brought immortality to light, and taught truth to an ignorant world. *Lucem caliganti reddidit mundo*, applied by Q. Curtius to a Roman emperor, can be strictly applied to Christ, and to him alone. No prophet ever did this miracle before him, as none ever made the religious discoveries which he made. Our Saviour himself leads us to this observation, and sets his miracle in the same view, saying upon that occasion, *I am the light of the world; I am come into this world, that they which see not, might see.*

He cured the deaf and the dumb, and the lame, and the infirm, and cleansed the lepers, and healed all manner of sicknesses, to shew at the same time that he was the physician of souls, which have their diseases corresponding in some manner to those of the body, and are deaf, and dumb, and impotent, and paralytic, and leprous in the spiritual sense.

He fed the hungry multitudes by a miracle, which aptly represented his heavenly doctrine, and the gos-

pel preached to the poor, and which he himself so explains, saying, *I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.*

The fig-tree, which with all its fair appearance was destitute of fruit, and died away at his rebuke, was plainly a figure of the Pharisaical religion, which was only outside shew; and of the rejection and fall of the Jewish nation.

At his direction the disciples twice cast the net, and had an astonishing draught of fishes, when without him they had long toiled in vain, and caught nothing; an image of the success which they should have when they became fishers of men, as he himself explained it.

In the miraculous draught related in *John* xxi. the number of fishes was one hundred and fifty-three, which, says Sam. Basnage, is the number of the sorts of fishes then known, for Oppian reckons up just so many, and this, adds he, was an indication that persons of all nations and conditions should enter into the church. *Ann. Eccl.* i. p. 415. What he observes from Oppian is true. See the *Miscell. Observ.* ii. p. 361. \*

His rebuking the winds and waves into silence and peace, may be considered as an emblem of his spiritual victories over the mad rage of Jews and Gentiles,  
and

\* The notes on Oppian, referred to here, were written by Jos. Wasse,

τῷ δ' ἐκ ἐπιλήσουαι, ὅφρ' ἂν ἔγωγε

ζώοισιν μετέω.

That learned man, with two or three others, offered his assistance very kindly to the author of the *Miscell. Observations*, who had not many friends to advise him and to countenance him; no small discouragements to a young writer, and no bad excuse for the defects in that work.



and his walking upon the sea seems to have been a prelude of the amazing progress of his gospel, which crossed the wide ocean \*, and reached the remotest lands.

Popular tumults are often compared to tempests and to a troubled sea, and Cicero often mentions *fluctus concionum*, and *fluctus civiles*.

Κινήθη δ' ἄγορῃ, ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης, says Homer. *Who stilleth the noise of the seas; the noise of their waves, and the tumult of the people.* Psal. lxxv. 7.

As in the Old Testament God's power is set forth by his commanding the sea to rage, and to be still, and to keep its bounds; &c. so the dominion which our Lord exercised over that unruly element is an indication of the dignity of his nature, and that *by him all things were made*; and none besides himself ever wrought this miracle.

St Matthew says; *The ship was in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves; for the wind was contrary,—and the wind ceased.* xiv. *There arose a great tempest in the sea, insomuch that the ship was covered with waves: but he was asleep.—Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.* viii.

Tertullian says: *Ceterum navicula illa figuram Ecclesiae præferebat, quod in mari, id est, seculo, fluctibus, id est, persecutionibus et tentationibus inquietatur, Domino per patientiam veluti dormiente, donec orationibus sanctorum in ultimis suscitatus, compescat seculum, et tranquillitatem*

R 2

\* To use the words of Pindar :

Πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης  
τηλόθεν γ' ὄνομ' αὐ-  
τῷ.—

Nem. vi. 81.

*quillitatem suis reddat.* De Bapt. c. 12. *The little ship tossed up and down in the sea, represented the Christian church, which suffers affliction and persecution in this world, whilst the Lord sleeps, and seems patiently to overlook it, till being awakened by the prayers of the saints in the latter days, he shall check the raging world, and restore tranquillity to his servants.* His observation is ingenious.

Some persons have spoken of this miracle as of one which had the appearance of the least and most ambiguous of Christ's miracles, because it might have happened by chance, since storms are succeeded by calms, and calms by storms: but they are mistaken; a sudden calm is contrary to the course of nature; for in a violent storm, the tossing and rolling of the waves continues after the wind is laid; and in this miracle, not only the wind fell, but the waters were immediately smoothed, ἐπετίμησε—τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἡ ἐγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη. Γαλήνη is a smooth water.

*Seneca de Tranquill. 2. Sicut est quidam tremor etiam tranquillæ maris, aut lacus, cum ex tempestate requievit.*

*De Brev. Vit. 2. Velut in profundo mari, in quo post ventum quoque volutatio est.* Herc. Fur. 1089.

*sed ut ingenti*

*Vexata Noto, servat longos*

*Unda tumultus, et jam vento*

*Cessante tumet.*

Herc. Oet. 710.

*Ut fractus Austro pontus etiamnum tumet,*

*Quamvis quiescat languidis ventis dies.*

Lucan. v. 217.

*ut tumidus Boreæ post flamina pontus*

*Rauca gemit.*

Statius, Theb. vii. 86.

*Ut*

*Ut si quando ruit, debellatasque reliquit  
Eurus aquas, pax ipsa tumet, pontumque jacentem  
Exanimis jam volvit hiems.*

Claudian, *In Ruf.* i. 70.

*ceu murmurat alti*

*Impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto  
Durat adhuc sævitque tumor, dubiumque per æstum  
Lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti.*

He raised the dead, a miracle peculiarly suiting him who at the last day should call forth all mankind to appear before him ; and therefore, when he raised Lazarus, he uttered those majestic words : *I am the resurrection and the life ; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.*

He performed some miracles upon persons who were not of his own nation, and it was so ordered by divine providence, that these persons, as the Centurion, the Syrophœnician woman, the Samaritan leper, should shew a greater degree of faith and of gratitude than the Jews to whom the same favours were granted. This was an indication that the gospel should be more readily received by the Gentiles than by the Jews ; and this our Saviour intimates, saying, when he had commended the Centurion's faith, *Many shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven ; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into utter darkness.*

He cured some persons at a distance, without visiting and seeing them, to shew that he should convert and save by his sacred word those who should not see and converse with him here on earth.

The darkness which was spread over the land, shewed the spiritual blindness of the Jews, which conti-

nued when the gospel shone in the Gentile world, and was an omen of their destruction.

The veil of the temple which was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, portended the abolition of the ceremonial law, and of the separation between Jews and Gentiles, and an entrance for believers by the death of Christ into the holy of holies.

The earthquakes at the death and resurrection of Christ shewed the great revolutions which should come to pass in the establishment of the gospel, and in the fall of Judaism and Paganism ; for in the sacred writers great changes in the political world are foretold and denoted by earthquakes, by shaking heaven, and earth, and sea, and dry land.

If Christ never wrought a miracle, and his disciples, mean and illiterate persons, feigned all these things, they were extremely ingenious to fix upon miracles, which so exactly suited the character that he assumed ; and amazingly fortunate to invent miracles which so aptly prefigured events that came to light in later times.

We have false legends concerning the miracles of Christ, of his apostles, and of ancient Christians ; and the writers of these fables had in all probability as good natural abilities as the disciples of Christ, and some of them, as the author of the *Recognitions*, wanted neither learning nor craft ; and yet they betray themselves by faults against chronology, against history, against manners and customs, against morality, and against probability. A liar of this kind can never pass undiscovered ; but an honest relater of truth and matter of fact is safe, he wants no artifice, and fears no examination, and if the miracles related by him are found to be indications of future and remote



mote events, this circumstance adds no small strength to his testimony.

Of the same prophetic kind was also one of St Paul's miracles : *At Paphos they found a certain sorcerer, a Jew—Then Paul set his eyes upon him, and said—The hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind for a season.—Then the deputy, when he saw what was done, believed.* Acts xiii.

By this miracle of the apostle was confirmed the prediction of Christ, *I am come into the world that they who see not may see ; and that they who see may be blind.* The eyes of the wicked Jew are closed, and the understanding of the Pagan Proconsul is illuminated. The one represents the impenitence and the rejection of the Jews, the other the docility and the calling of the Gentiles ; and as the false prophet is only condemned to blindness for a season, so the Jews are to remain in darkness for a certain period, and to be converted in God's appointed time.

Origin, therefore, who was ever inclined to judge candidly, and Chrysostom, were of opinion, that the punishment which St Paul inflicted upon the sorcerer Barjesus, brought him to a sense of his guilt, and to a sincere repentance. And indeed a man must have been hardened to a strange degree, upon whom a double miracle, first of severity, and then of clemency, would have no effect. See S. Basnage, *Annal.* i. p. 549.

The miracles by which St Paul was instructed and converted have been thought by some to be of the emblematic and prophetic kind, and to indicate the future calling of the Jews ; so that Paul the persecutor, and Paul the apostle, was a type of his own nation.

St Paul, though the apostle of the Gentiles, never cast off his care for his own brethren, and always expressed himself on that subject with the warmest affection, and he alone of the writers of the New Testament, hath spoken clearly of the future restoration of the Jews : he earnestly wished for that happy day, and saw it afar off, and was glad.

St Paul was extremely zealous for the law, and a persecutor of the Christians : so were the Jews.

St Paul, for opposing Jesus Christ was struck blind, but upon his repentance he received his sight : so were the Jews for their rebellion smitten with spiritual blindness, which shall be removed when they are received again into favour.

St Paul was called miraculously, and by the glorious manifestation of Christ himself, and he was instructed by the same divine Master : such will perhaps be the conversion and the illumination of the Jews.

St Paul was called last of all the apostles : the Jews will certainly enter late into the church.

St Paul was the most active, laborious, and successful of all the disciples : such perhaps the Jews also shall be after their conversion. But these are rather conjectures of what may be, than discoveries of what must come to pass.

Our Saviour foretold that false Christs, and false prophets should arise and shew signs and wonders. This somewhat perplexed the ancient Christian writers ; but if the objection had been made to the apostles when they first preached the gospel, they would perhaps have replied ;

As to the wonders which our Master says shall be done by false Christs and false prophets ;

Either,

Either, upon examination, some of those wonders will appear to be tricks and impostures ;

Or, they will not be wrought publicly, and before proper witnesses, but will be attested by seditious ruffians, whose oath should not be admitted in any court of judicature ;

Or, they will be wrought to defend something that is manifestly false, and therefore will be of no weight ;

Or, they will be wrought to prove that God will protect and defend the Jews, which will be soon confuted by the destruction of Jerusalem ;

Or, they will not be such miracles as the ancient prophets declared that the Messias would perform, miracles beneficial to mankind ;

Or, they will not be wrought with a declared purpose to disprove the truth of Christianity, or to establish any thing good and commendable, but only to amaze people, and excite them to rebellion ;

Or, they will be wrought at a time when the servants of Christ frequently, and openly perform miracles of a more noble and amiable kind ; so that it will be impossible for an impartial man not to see on which side the advantage lies ;

Or, they will be wrought by the permission of the divine providence, to infatuate and seduce the wicked, reprobate, unbelieving Jews ; for though providence be concerned to take care that no honest person be misled by the miracles of a false prophet, yet God may by a just judgment permit evil men and evil spirits to delude those who are abandoned to all wickedness, and who have forfeited his favour and protection.

Thus you are forewarned ; take heed therefore that ye be not deceived.

Christ

Christ and his apostles foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, and many other events, and wrought a variety of miracles in confirmation of their own character and authority. False Christs were to arise shewing signs and wonders. Who were these false Christs? Jews, without question. And whom would they deceive? Their own countrymen. And when were they to arise? After the ascension of Christ, when his predictions began to be accomplished, and whilst his disciples were endued with miraculous powers. And what was to be the end of the wonders, real or fictitious, of the false Christs? To incite the Jews to sedition and rebellion, and to persuade them that God would never forsake them. But misery and ruin brake in upon the nation like a torrent, and shewed the folly of trusting in such liars. If for a time these impostors succeeded, and seduced some persons, yet the time was short, and the deluded persons were men devoted to destruction, and so no harm arose from it, either to good men, or to the Gentile world, or to the gospel of Christ.

The destruction of Jerusalem therefore soon decided the controversy between the Christians and the false prophets, and shewed on which side the truth lay, and who had the Spirit of God.

Our Saviour says of those impostors, *They shall shew wonders*. It appears not evidently from these words that they should really work miracles. They shall shew them, that is, they shall pretend to it, and make people think so,—truly or falsely, it mattered not; and Christ forbade his followers to regard any thing that they should teach, or to take their wonders into consideration, because the event would very soon discover



discover them to be false prophets and pernicious guides, and that was enough.

Concerning the miracles of the apostles, it is most probable that they could not be performed by them at their own discretion, but only when they had an impulse from the Holy Ghost, who alone knew the proper times and the just occasions. When St Paul was sent as a prisoner to appear before Cæsar at Rome, it seems to have been expedient for the honour of Christianity, that he should have the reputation of being a holy man, favoured by heaven, who had the spirit of prophecy, and had performed wonderful works ; or else Nero, and the courtiers, and the Prætorian guards would have despised him, as a setter forth of strange doctrines, and a fanatic. Therefore the Spirit of God so ordered it, that he foretold the loss of the ship, and the safe landing of all the passengers, and wrought several miracles at Malta, and that kind of miracles which will gain the love and favour of men, namely, healing the sick, and thence was highly respected by Julius the centurion who had the care of him, and who, when he delivered his prisoners to the captain of the guard at Rome, informed him, no doubt, of all that had happened in the voyage, which accounts for the good treatment St Paul received at court, and for the permission granted him of dwelling in his own hired house with only one soldier to guard him, and for the converts whom he seems to have made even in Cæsar's household.

Let us now sum up briefly, and in few words, the main evidences of the truth of our religion.

1. Christ was foretold by the prophets. Of the things predicted concerning him, some were miraculous, some improbable, some seemingly irreconcilable,

able, and all of them beyond the reach of human conjecture, and yet in him they all centered and were united and reconciled.

To this must be added the amazing harmony, analogy, and correspondence between the Old and New Testament, not only in the direct prophecies, but in the types, rites, ceremonies, and events contained in the former, and fulfilled in a sublimer sense in the latter, which upon the whole could never be the effect of blind chance.

The Old and New Testament confirm each other : the prophetic parts of the former support the gospel, and the miracles, and prophecies, and success of Christ and his apostles support the Old Testament \*.

2. Christ knew the hearts of men, as he shewed upon all occasions ; a knowledge which Almighty God represents in Scripture as so peculiar to himself, that he cannot be supposed to suffer those to partake of it who are not sent by him,

3. He

\* The authenticity of the books of the New Testament stands confirmed by many proofs internal and external, some of which we have represented in the first book ; and the truth of the facts and doctrines contained in those books must be established by the same arguments which shew the truth of Christianity.

*We know the Scriptures to be the word of God*, say some persons, *because the Spirit tells us so*. But how will you convince us that you have the Spirit ? and what is the rule by which we may distinguish your pretensions from fanaticism ?

When a man carefully examines the arguments for the divine authority of the Scriptures, and sees the force of them, and assents to them, he may reasonably conclude that the Holy Spirit has assisted him ; but his belief, though thus assisted, is grounded upon evidence, upon inferences justly drawn from just premises ; and faith must be founded upon reason, or it must be fanatical credulity. There is no medium.

3. He was a prophet : he foretold not only things remote and lying beyond human sagacity, but things improbable and miraculous, which have been accomplished.

4. He wrought miracles numerous and various, worthy of himself, and beneficial to men : and many of these miracles were also prophecies at the same time, and indications of future events ; and so were most of his parables.

5. He never erred or failed in any point, as teacher, prophet, Messias, or worker of miracles. All his promises were accomplished, particularly his remarkable promise that he would support and comfort all those who should be called to suffer and to die for his sake, which hath been illustriously fulfilled in ancient and in modern martyrs.

6. He conferred miraculous and prophetic gifts on his disciples, and they on theirs.

7. His religion was plain and popular, yet pure and holy, and tending to make men wiser and better, and it produced a multitude of good effects in the world.

8. When it was first preached, it could never have made its way without the assistance of miracles.

9. He lived and died an example of all that he taught, of all active and suffering virtues.

10. He had no rival or antagonist to make his authority appear doubtful, by opposing prophecies to his prophecies, and miracles to his miracles, from the time that he began his ministry to this day.

It cannot be supposed that there should be any deceit in this complicated evidence, and that falsehood should boast of all the imaginable characters of truth.

A learned and ingenious person, but inclined to scepticism, said once to a friend ; You often tell us how dangerous it is to reject the gospel, if it be true ; but you consider not that there is the same danger in teaching it, if it be false. What can you say for yourselves when you come to appear before God, if you have misled the people in so important a point ?

His friend replied, We will suppose, if you please, that Christianity is not a divine revelation : let us consider the consequence.

The consequence is, that Deism is the only true religion ; and these are its great articles : one God, the immortality of the soul, or its permanency so long as it shall please God, a future state of retribution, the eternal differences of moral good and evil, an obligation to love God and man, and to live righteously and soberly.

All these points are forcibly inculcated by Christianity, and nothing is taught by us that invalidates them. If Christianity be not true, we have been deluded, and have thought too well of those who introduced revealed religion into the world ; and that is all. The delusion hath led us into no iniquity, and authorised no crimes : it has been the most innoxious of all errors, an error pleading for every virtue, and dissuading from every vice.

What danger can there be in such a religion, even upon any supposition ? and how can it be imagined that the Father of mercies would not forgive such an error ?

If Christianity be true, the Deist is in an error, and if his error be unavoidable, he is in the hands of a merciful God : but let him take heed that he deceive



ceive not himself, for if his unbelief arises from evil causes, *God is not mocked.*

As far as the subsequent miracles mentioned by Christian writers fall short of the distinguishing characters belonging to the works of Christ and his apostles, so far they must fail of giving us the same full persuasion and satisfaction.

That they fall short in many instances, will appear to any one who shall examine them by the characters which we have enumerated above. I shall only observe ;

1. They were not foretold by the prophets.
2. They were not wrought by prophets.
3. They contained in them no prophetic indications of future events.
4. No man ever laid down his life, or even suffered distress and persecution in attestation of them.

Though this be an inquiry proper for those who have learning, leisure, and abilities, yet Christians at present are under no particular obligation to form any notion at all about the subject, any more than about many other things contained in the writings of the fathers, upon which Christianity cannot be said to depend. It were to be wished that the defenders of these miracles would remember that the dispute is not *pro aris et focis*, and that the truth of Christianity is out of the question.

If we admit the miracles of Christ and of his apostles, we must not, when we examine the subsequent miracles, bring along with us a prejudice against them, from their own nature, and as they are acts surpassing human power.

Since they are not impossibilities and imply no contradiction, they are to be examined like other facts,  
with

with this difference, that they require a stronger confirmation.

But there is in the heart of many persons a bent to an opinion concerning things preternatural, amounting nearly to this proposition, *What we never saw, cannot be true.* This bent hath seldom been more prevailing than in our age, and it is the business of reason to correct it, since it may mislead us as much as credulity.

In examining these later miracles, we must consider their nature, the end for which they appear to have been performed, their tendency, the effects which they produced, and the credibility of the witnesses.

In this inquiry we shall find it scarcely possible to arrive at absolute certainty: of probability there is a variety of degrees; and a high degree of probability is sufficient to require and justify our assent, and differs little from certainty.

As the probability is more or less, such must be the credit which we give to it.

If the case be perplexed, we are not to form any judgment besides, *NONLIQUET.* Doubt and suspense are then commendable, and God hath so ordered it, that many of our enquiries must end thus, to teach us at least modesty and humility.

The Christians of the second and third centuries, from Justin Martyr downwards, affirm that miracles were from time to time wrought amongst them: their consent in this seems to have been uniform and unanimous, which cannot be said for many of the miracles after Constantine, which though received by the greater number, were suspected or rejected by some.

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The general good character of these ancient Christians, which yet is always to be understood with some exceptions, their low and afflicted state, their pious behaviour under it, their want of a divine support and encouragement to keep them constant to their profession, their remote situation from each other in various parts of the known world, their great numbers, and their success in converting multitudes, their open appeals to the Pagans in their apologies, and the knowledge which the Pagans probably had of those appeals, the persons who attest these things, some of whom were confessors and martyrs, others learned, ingenious, and of a fair character, incline us to think that miracles did not entirely cease in those times, and that Christians could not combine together in carrying on impostures, or be able to impose them upon those whom they had converted, or be imposed upon themselves by dishonest brethren. It is strange that they should have been able to maintain so good a reputation as they did amongst the more moderate and unprejudiced Pagans, and have had the success amongst them which they had, if they were so disposed to forging and to defending forged miracles.

According to the accounts which the writers of the second and third centuries have given us of these miracles, it appears not that they were performed in an absurd and superstitious way, but usually by plain, and religious, and apostolical methods, as by prayer and invocation of Jesus; nor doth it appear that they were usually wrought for lucre, or to vest extraordinary authority in any person, or to augment the power of the clergy, or to decide the religious controversies; or to run down any thing called heresy, and heterodoxy, or to establish any new doctrine, or

to encourage and recommend voluntary and foolish austerities, a solitary life, vows of celibacy and virginity, worshipping of wood, rags, and bones, invocation of saints, &c. If a man, moved by these reasons, and by reverence to the ancient Christians, should assent to the miracles attested by them, he ought not to be slighted, insulted, and ridiculed for it by those who have the same faith and hope, and acknowledge the same Lord and Master.

Such are the arguments in favour of the miracles of the second and third centuries ; to which, on the other hand, is objected the credulity of many of the Christians, the enthusiastic temper of others, the disingenuity of some of them in the matter of pious frauds ; a disposition which Christians had in common with other people to admit too easily any thing that favoured their own cause, and an unwillingness to oppose it ; the forgeries of books, epistles, edicts, and reports, contrived by some of them, and received by others ; the accounts of the miracles, which seem often founded upon hearsays and tradition, and many miracles notoriously and undeniably false, which are confidently reported by fathers and writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who made no conscience of affirming the most childish absurdities, in the marvellous way.

To these objections may be added the force of imagination, and of a strong persuasion, which may have a strange and surprising effect in removing some bodily disorders, so that the cure shall be thought preternatural both by the person who is relieved, and by those who have contributed to his recovery, and by those who are present, and yet they may be all deceived, and all innocent of any design to impose upon mankind.



mankind. Such seems to be the case mentioned by Minucius Felix concerning evil spirits, who being adjured, *vel exsiliunt statim, vel evanescent gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat, vel gratia curantis adspirat.* 27. for it is hardly to be supposed that miracles of this kind are wrought by halves, and by slow degrees.

It may be farther observed that the miracles mentioned by the apologists and ancient fathers of the second and third centuries, are usually healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, miracles in which there is room for some error and deception ; we hear nothing of causing the blind to see, the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, the lepers to be cleansed.

Add to this, that notions of \* morality have in some points varied in the Christian world, and been more or less strict in different times and places. The writing of books or epistles under borrowed names, and imposing them as genuine upon the public, is a thing of bad consequence and an immorality, yet hath it been done by men who perhaps in other respects were honest. Writers of the fourth and fifth centuries have attested miracles which either they knew to be false, or did not know to be true ; and yet many of them, in all probability, would have died rather than have renounced Christianity, and for no reward in the world would have borne false witness in a trial. There have been Christians who have readi-

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\* De tout tems, je n'en excepte que les temps Apostoliques, les Evêques se sont crus autorisez à user de ces fraudes pieuses qui tendent au salut des hommes. Les Ouvrages supposez en sont une preuve, et la facilité avec laquelle les Peres ajoutaient foi à ces mauvais ouvrages, fait voir que s'ils n'étoient pas complices de la fraude, ils n'étoient pas scrupuleux à en profiter. *Beausobre Hist. de Manich. ii. 756.*

ly fought duels upon slender occasions, and for a point of honour, and who would as readily have died for their religion.

Men will be inclined to determine this controverted question according to their preconceived notions, and their accustomed way of thinking ; for there appears to be a sort of fatality in opinions of this kind, which when once taken up, are seldom laid down. But upon the whole, the arguments seem to preponderate a little on the side of the ancient opinion, so as to incline us to suppose that miracles were sometimes wrought amongst the Christians, though at present it may be no easy matter to point them out distinctly.

Thus much may seem probable, that in the second and third centuries some sick persons were restored to health by the prayers of their brethren ; that some virtuous Pagans had their doubts and prejudices removed and were called to Christianity by divine impulses, dreams, or visions ; and that the martyrs and confessors received an extraordinary assistance from God, enabling them to undergo horrible tortures and sufferings with amazing patience and constancy, which divine assistance, whether it may properly be called *miraculous*, it matters not much to inquire, for we will not dispute about words.

Whilst the church of Christ was subject to insults and persecution from the Pagan powers, and in a low and distressed condition, the Christians assembled together as often as they could, and took all possible care to instruct, and animate, and comfort, and relieve one another. When any of them were sick, the congregation prayed for them, and the presbyters visited them, and invoked the name of the Lord over them. Ma-  
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ny of them recovered, and the recovery was accounted miraculous, and perhaps was oftentimes really, and sometimes evidently so. It is impossible to shew that it was unworthy of the divine power thus to exert itself for the consolation of the afflicted Christians, and for an evidence that God was with them of a truth. Great things are said in the Scriptures concerning the efficacy of prayer, to whose persuasive force may be applied what Pindar hath so elegantly feigned of music and poesy,

Καὶ τὸν αἰχμαστὴν κεραιὸν σβεννύεις  
Ἄενδ' ὠπυός.

As the doctrines of divine influences upon the mind of man, and of the efficacy of prayer, are connected with the doctrine of a *particular providence*, let us produce a few remarks on this subject, made by ingenious men who never passed for enthusiasts.

“ Some thoughts and designs may be caused by  
 “ the suggestion and impulse; or other silent com-  
 “ munications of some spiritual being; perhaps *the*  
 “ *Deity* himself. For that such imperceptible influ-  
 “ ences and still whispers may be, none of us all can  
 “ positively deny: that is, we cannot know certain-  
 “ ly, that there are no such things. On the contra-  
 “ ry, I believe there are but few of them who have  
 “ made observations upon themselves and their affairs,  
 “ but must, when they reflect on life past, and the  
 “ various adventures and events of it, find many in-  
 “ stances in which their usual judgment and sense of  
 “ things cannot but seem to themselves to have been  
 “ *over-ruled* they knew not *by what*, nor *how*, nor *why*  
 “ (*i. e.* they have done things which afterwards they  
 “ wonder how they came *to do*;) and that these ac-  
 “ tions have had consequences very *remarkable* in  
 “ their

“ their history. I speak not here of men dementated  
 “ with wine, or enchanted with some temptation :  
 “ the thing holds true of men even in their sober and  
 “ more considering seasons.

“ That there may be *possibly* such inspirations of  
 “ new thoughts and counsels, may perhaps further  
 “ appear from this ; that we so frequently find  
 “ thoughts arising in our heads, into which we are  
 “ led by *no* discourse, *nothing* we read, *no* clue of rea-  
 “ soning ; but they surprise and come upon us from  
 “ we *know not* what quarter. If they proceeded from  
 “ the mobility of spirits, straggling out of order, and  
 “ fortuitous affections of the brain, or were of the na-  
 “ ture of *dreams*, why are they not as wild, incohe-  
 “ rent, and extravagant as *they* are ? Not to add,  
 “ that the world has generally acknowledged, and  
 “ therefore seems to have *experienced* some assistance  
 “ and directions given to good men by the Deity ;  
 “ that men have been many times infatuated, and  
 “ lost to themselves, &c. If any one should object,  
 “ that if men are thus over-ruled in their actings,  
 “ then they are deprived of their *liberty*, &c. the an-  
 “ swer is, that though man is a free agent, he may  
 “ not be free as to *every thing*. His freedom may be  
 “ restrained, and he only accountable for those acts,  
 “ in respect of which he is *free*.

“ If this then be the case, as it seems to be, that  
 “ mens minds are susceptible of such *insinuations* and  
 “ *impressions*, as frequently by ways unknown do af-  
 “ fect them, and give them an inclination towards  
 “ this or that, how many things may be brought to  
 “ pass by these means without *fixing* and *refixing* the  
 “ laws of nature ; any more than they are unfixed,  
 “ when one man alters the opinion of another by  
 “ throwing



“ throwing a book, proper for his purpose, in his  
“ way? I say, how many things may be brought  
“ about thus, not only in regard of *ourselves*, but  
“ *other people*, who may be concerned in our actions,  
“ either *immediately*, or *in time* through perhaps many  
“ intermediate events? For the prosperity or impros-  
“ perity of a man, or his fate here, does not intirely  
“ depend upon his *own* prudence, or imprudence,  
“ but in a great measure upon his *situation* among the  
“ rest of mankind, and what they do. The natural  
“ effect of his management meeting with such things,  
“ as are the natural effects of the actions of other  
“ men, and being blended with them, the result may  
“ be something not intended or foreseen.” *Wollaston*  
Rel. of Nat. Sect. v. p. 106.

These things, according to the light of reason, are not improbable, and, as our author observes, no man can prove the contrary: but whilst we acknowledge the gracious influences of providence in every thing that tends to make us better and wiser and happier, we must be very careful to keep the sober mean between the extremes, the one of excluding the divine interposition in the natural and moral world, the other of destroying human agency, or of ascribing the wild fancies of our own heads to the suggestions of the Holy Spirit.

Le Clerc, giving an account of *An Essay on Divine Providence by Robert Burrow*, says,

“ Besides a general providence, this author shews  
 “ *that there are extraordinary occasions, where God in-*  
 “ *terposes in a particular manner*; as he did formerly  
 “ by miracles, and by prophecies, and as he hath  
 “ done since, by particular interpositions, which we  
 “ cannot, properly, call miracles. It is very proba-  
 s 4 “ ble.

“ ble, not to say certain, that God can interpose, and  
 “ that he doth interpose now, as well as formerly, in  
 “ extraordinary cases, though we perceive it not, be-  
 “ cause we are not forewarned that it shall be so.  
 “ Things happen, which seem not to be according to  
 “ the ordinary course of nature, but by a particular  
 “ intervention of the Deity, though God doth not  
 “ give us previous notice of it, as he did when he  
 “ established the Mosaic and the Christian religion.  
 “ God hath commanded us to call upon him, and  
 “ hath promised to grant us whatsoever is proper for  
 “ us. And who can doubt of his fulfilling these pro-  
 “ mises? Let us suppose that a good man, and a man  
 “ whose welfare is very necessary to his family, which  
 “ he has educated religiously, is in great danger of  
 “ dying by a distemper, and that his family earnestly  
 “ prays to God for his recovery. Is it not possible  
 “ that they may by their supplications obtain from  
 “ God the life and the health of this man, which else  
 “ he would not have granted? Upon the supposition  
 “ that his disease was mortal, and that without these  
 “ prayers God would not have removed it, this would  
 “ be a real miracle. In like manner, every thing  
 “ that God gives to those who pray to him, and  
 “ would not else give them, is a miracle, though we  
 “ perceive it not, because we know not beforehand  
 “ that it shall be so.

“ In the number of these providential interposi-  
 “ tions, supposing the fact to be true, might be pla-  
 “ ced what happened on the coasts of Holland and  
 “ Zeland, the 14th of July 1672. The United Pro-  
 “ vinces having ordered public prayers to God, when  
 “ they feared that the French and English fleets  
 “ would make a descent upon their coasts, it came to  
 “ pass

“ pass that when these fleets waited only for the tide,  
 “ to land their smaller vessels, it was retarded con-  
 “ trary to its usual course, for twelve hours, which  
 “ disappointed the design, so that the enemies were  
 “ obliged to defer it to another opportunity, which  
 “ they never found, because of a storm that arose af-  
 “ terwards and drove them from the coast.

“ A thing of this nature, happening at such a  
 “ juncture, to save the country from ruin, was ac-  
 “ counted miraculous, and a prediction of it would  
 “ have proved it to have been so. However, as no-  
 “ thing falls out, without the concurrence of the di-  
 “ vine providence, there was great reason to return  
 “ thanks to God for the deliverance.

“ In the history of other nations, events of this  
 “ kind are recorded, which, if they had been foretold,  
 “ must have been accounted real miracles.” *Le*  
*Clerc Bibl. A. et M. xxvi. 391.*

*Nec dubito quin etiamnum hodie Deus, precibus pio-  
 rum permotus, multa occulte mutet in animis et corpori-  
 bus, qua mutatione averruncet ab hominibus religiosis  
 magnas calamitates, quæ iis alioqui contingerent. Mul-  
 ta operatur, quæ res nobis faciunt secundiores, et veri-  
 tati, nobis incisiis, prosunt; quamvis talia sub oculos non  
 cadant. Sunt hæc vera miracula, sed Dei sese occultan-  
 tis, etiam iis, in quorum gratiam hoc facit. Quare sem-  
 per nos oportet ad Deum precibus confugere, et omnium  
 eorum, quæ nobis secunda eveniunt, gratias ei agere;  
 quamvis Deus sua illa occulta auxilia non venditet. Cle-  
 ricus ad Isai. xlv. 15.*

After Constantine, the miracles become extremely  
 suspicious, both from their own frivolous or extrava-  
 gant nature, or their apparent bad tendency, or ma-  
 ny other circumstances which I shall not here ex-  
 amine,

amine. I mean not by this that providence never interposed in behalf of the Christian cause. The defeat of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple may justly be ascribed to a particular providence.

Monkery, and the immoderate veneration of saints and martyrs, and Christianity somewhat adulterated with Paganism, and the spirit of wrangling and of oppression, and religious controversies imprudently and indecently carried on by all parties, and false miracles, and feigned visions, came hand in hand, and prevailed too much.

There have been some, and there are many persons, who *believing the truth of Christianity*, doubt of the miracles after the apostolical age, or reject them. Such were Van Dale, and Moyle; and Le Clerc, who yet was not so far fixed in that opinion as to think it improbable that miracles were wrought in the beginning of the second century.

To these authors will it be permitted to add Middleton? He declared himself more than once in favour of revelation. Let us therefore err, if it be an error, on the side which is favourable to him and to his memory, and join him to these ingenious and learned men.

His system was treated by some persons as *a novelty*; but they should have said, *As far as we know*; for be it right, or be it wrong, it certainly is not new.

“ When the truth of our religion,” says Moyle, “ had been confirmed by so many signal miracles, “ which were never disowned by the heathens themselves, it quickly triumphed over all opposition, “ and spread with a wonderful progress over all the “ parts of the Roman empire. When Christianity “ had gained such a footing in the world, the work  
“ was



“ was half done, and the rest might be safely trusted  
“ to the preaching of our ministers, and the suffering  
“ of our martyrs ; and the ends of miracles being fully  
“ accomplished, it was high time for miracles themselves  
“ to cease, for God Almighty never wastes them in vain. This notion I take to be very agreeable  
“ to the general sense of the Protestant divines, and for this reason I give little credit to any miracles  
“ since the days of the apostles. I am loath, I confess, to reject all without reserve, for the sake of  
“ a very remarkable one which happened at the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem under Julian,  
“ which is so extraordinary in all its circumstances, and so fully attested,—that I do not see with  
“ what forehead any man can question the truth of it, &c. Though the primitive Christians, in general  
“ lived up to the full rules of their religion with the utmost probity and innocence of manners, yet it  
“ is too certain that there were some persons amongst them, who through a mistaken zeal made no scruple  
“ of lying for the honour of their religion. Their fictions found an easy reception in a credulous age,  
“ and were conveyed down to posterity as certain truths.—I am not so uncharitable as to charge the  
“ faults and follies of particular men on the whole body of the Christian writers. On the contrary,  
“ I think them the persons chiefly imposed on, and that the far greater part of the fictions which  
“ appear in the authors of the three first centuries, were not wilful lies of their own invention, but mistakes,  
“ flowing from an easy credulity, and warm sallies of zeal that would not suffer them over-nice-  
“ ly to examine the authority of some facts which  
“ they

“ they thought would serve for the advancement of  
 “ their cause.” *Vol. ii. p. 100. 289.*

Le Clerc was inclined to the same opinion, as appears from many passages in his writings. See *Bibl. Anc. et Mod. xxvii. p. 175.*

In his *Bibl. Chois. xiii. p. 179.* there are *Remarks on Fontenelle, &c.* Le Clerc gave this as a foundling, but it looks very much like his own child, and in all probability it must be laid to him, as well as the *Letters on Inspiration*, which, as he never owned, so he never denied. He there endeavours to prove, that the ejecting of devils by the Christians after the apostolical age, and the wonders of that kind done by the sign of the cross, deserve no credit.

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, speaking of the miracles related by Irenæus, he concludes : *quibus quidem nemo fidem prorsus negare sustineat ; sed tamen quæcumque boni viri, ab aliis audita et facile credita, iis temporibus quibus credulitas virtus habebatur, narrabant, vera propterea esse consequens non est. In honorem Dei salutemque hominum hyperbolica oratione uti nemo tunc temporis religioni ducebat.*

Le Clerc gives some account in his *Bibliothèques*, of the life and writings of Van Dale, and of the works of Moyle. Of the former he says, “ His conversation  
 “ was lively and entertaining, and he delivered his  
 “ sentiments without reserve. Sworn enemy to su-  
 “ perstition and hypocrisy, he ridiculed them openly,  
 “ which hurt him, as I have been told, on some oc-  
 “ casions. He died physician to the poor, and to the  
 “ hospital of Harlem, which office he exercised with  
 “ great application and assiduity, though he was ex-  
 “ tremely attached to his studies.”

After

After speaking favourably of Moyle's works, particularly of his Dissertation against *the Thundering Legion*, and recommending them to all lovers of truth, he adds: " I have heard this learned and worthy man  
 " censured as one who was inclined to free-thinking  
 " and unbelief: but in his writings I can discern no-  
 " thing that tends that way, and therefore, till I see  
 " evident proofs of it, I shall always think that great  
 " injustice is done to the character of a person of his  
 " penetration and abilities."

Le Clerc himself fared no better than Moyle, and *heretic* and *free-thinker* were *compliments* often paid to him, and to which he was accustomed, which made him the more disposed to defend his fellow-sufferers.

The Christian miracles may be referred to four periods:

The first period contains those which are recorded in the New Testament, and reaches to about A. D. 70. Of these there can be no doubt among Christians.

The next period may be of thirty-seven years, and ends about A. D. 107. There is reason to think it probable that some miracles were then performed by those who preached and planted the gospel in pagan countries.

The third reaches from thence to Constantine. For some of the miracles in these ages, in the second and third centuries, so much should be alledged as should restrain us from determining too positively against them, and denying them all.

The last period is from Constantine to where you please, and abounds with miracles, the defence of which shall be left to those who are inclined to undertake it, at the hazard of misapplying their pains. One  
 sort

sort of miracle seems to have been much wanted, and that was to cast the *romantic devil* out of the Christians of those times ; but *this kind goeth not out* so easily, and stands in awe of no exorcisms.

Some few miracles indeed are said to have been wrought in the days of Constantine, and in remote regions where the gospel was then first propagated, which, though for certain reasons one cannot rely upon them, yet may require a suspense of judgment.

If it be asked when miraculous powers ceased in the church ? the proper answer seems to be, that these miracles cease to us, when we cease to find satisfactory evidence for them.

Some of the post-apostolical miracles shall be considered in the course of this work, and what may be fairly urged in their favour shall not be omitted ; but it may not be amiss to declare, once for all, that I would not engage for the truth of any of them, after A. D. 107, and that I desire to be ranked, as to this point, not amongst the *denyers* and *rejectors*, but amongst the *doubters*.

EUSEBIUS, i. 13. relates, that Abgarus, prince of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, wrote to Christ, and received a letter from him, and that Thaddæus was sent to Edessa, who cured this prince, wrought other miracles, and converted his people. Eusebius translated this account, or got it translated from the archives of Edessa. There is no room to suspect him of forging it, but there is abundant reason to account it a forgery, and a foolish one too. Many indeed have received and defended it, from Ephraim Syrus down to Cave, and to writers of yesterday : but if they were twice or ten times as many, their united labours can  
never



never efface its indelible characters of puerility and improbability. See Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 332.

However, though this be a mere fable, and though Eusebius was to blame for not testifying a dislike or a doubt of it, yet there are some things implied in it concerning Edessa which cannot fairly be denied, as that the gospel was preached there long before the time of Eusebius, and that it was preached when Christianity was in a low and afflicted condition, when neither worldly hope, nor fear, nor the vanity of imitating great nations, nor any motive of that kind could induce this people to receive it. It will therefore be no easy matter to account for their conversion, unless by supposing that the preaching and the miracles of some Christians prevailed with them to leave their own religion delivered to them by their ancestors.

This happened in all probability in early times, and those *dwellers in Mesopotamia*, who were in Jerusalem at Pentecost, and heard the apostles speak with tongues, might assist in planting the gospel at Edessa, or in preparing the way for it.

It is an ancient, and not an improbable tradition, that the Ethiopian Eunuch preached and spread the gospel in his own country.

*Ipse Eunuchus credens,—missus est in regiones Æthiopice, predicaturus hoc quod ipse crediderat.* Irenæus iii. 12.

*Philippus docuit Æthiopem et baptizavit, atque in Æthiopiam usque Christi præconem misit.* Cyrillus Hieros. *Catech.* xvii. p. 204.

*Eunuchus—Apostolus genti Æthiopum missus est.* Hieronymus in *Esai.* c. 53.

Eusebius iii. 37. speaking of the successors of the apostles, at the latter end of the first, and the beginning

ning of the second century, says, that several at that time went into various and remote countries, converting multitudes, and working many miracles.

The words of Eusebius intimate, that he thought those extraordinary powers to be, at least, not very common afterwards. *They went about*, says he, *with God's co-operating grace, for EVEN THEN the divine Spirit performed many miracles by them.*—(ὁν τῇ τῷ Θεῷ χάρις καὶ Συνεργία· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ Πνεύματι εἰσέτι τότε δι' αὐτῶν πλεῖσαι παραδόξαι δυνάμεις ἐνέργουν.

It were to be supposed, though Eusebius had not said it, that these evangelists and apostolical men, and founders of uncorrupted Christianity in various places, had the power of working miracles, to introduce themselves to strangers, and to conciliate their regard and respect; and indeed, without such credentials, it is difficult to be conceived how *disciples of the apostles* could have succeeded in their attempts. It would have been very natural for the Pagans, when they had heard their story, to have said to them; If Christ and his apostles not long ago wrought such wonders as you relate, to convert men, we have reason to expect some from you; for you tell us that some of these powers were communicated to the disciples of the apostles. How comes it to pass then that *you* are without them? and if you have them not, why do you address yourselves to us?

What could they do amongst strangers, without miracles, without force, without singular dexterity and subtilty, without the aid of arts and sciences? Will you suppose the people to whom they went to have been colts and wild asses? and yet, if they were, stupidity and stubbornness often go together.

We

We read in the Acts of the Apostles that many of the persons converted by the apostles, on receiving Christianity, received *extraordinary gifts*, whence it is reasonable to think that they were also enabled, when they went about preaching the gospel, to confirm it by signs and wonders at some times, and on some occasions ; else they would have done better in staying at home, lest they should discredit their cause by having no power of this kind when they wanted it most.

Le Clerc would have been of the same opinion, if he had considered this point more particularly, for he says, *The Christian Church not only supported itself, but increased considerably during the second century, by means of the miracles which the last disciples of the apostles still wrought, &c.* Bibl. A. et M. vi. p. 336.

The Pagans indeed, at that juncture, wanted the testimony of miracles more than the Jews, for this reason, that the Jews had the predictions of their own prophets, and saw, or might see the completion of many of them in the person of Christ : but the Pagans would be less affected by that argument, till they were better acquainted with the history of the Jews and of their sacred books. He who in those early times preached to the Jews, might also appeal to the miracles of Christ and of the apostles, which they or their fathers had seen ; but the remoter Gentiles were strangers to these things, and a few sensible proofs of the extraordinary powers of the Holy Spirit would to them have been more satisfactory.

We have not any pretence to reject the testimony of Eusebius as to the fact, that the gospel was preached by disciples of the apostles, and we have this to confirm it, that, according to all ancient history, Christi-

anity after the death of the apostles continued to increase and to get ground in various regions.

This brings the probability of miracles down to the beginning of the second century, in the middle of which Justin Martyr says, There are prophetic gifts amongst us **EVEN UNTIL NOW**. *παρὰ δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικά χαρίσματα ἐστίν.* and amongst these gifts he reckons up miraculous powers, as *healing the sick, casting out evil spirits, &c.* p. 315. 330. His words imply an opinion that such gifts were not only exercised in his time, but had been *continued down* to his time, and he may be justly supposed to speak the sense of his contemporary Christians; and that is all I cite him for.

It seems probable that if we had a full and authentic history of the propagation of the gospel from the time of the apostles to the middle of the second century, composed by eye-witnesses and by the preachers of Christianity, we should find miracles wrought for the conversion of the Pagans. But from A. D. 70, to 150, is a dark interval, and we have very short accounts of the transactions of those days, unless we should accept of groundless rumours and frivolous tales.

St John was banished by Domitian, A. D. 94. Tertullian, and others upon his credit, say, that he was put into a vessel of boiling oil, which story Jerom repeats with a few embellishments of his own. See Le Clerc *Hist. Eccl.* p. 508. The apostle came out *unhurt*, says Tertullian; he came out *stronger and healthier* than he went in, says Jerom, who perhaps had in his thoughts *Æson* coming out of *Medea's* kettle;

*barba comæque*

*Canitie posita, nigrum rapuere colorem.*

*Pulsa fugit macies : abeunt pallorque situsque,*

*Adjectoque*



*Adjectoque cavæ suppleantur sanguine venæ ;  
Membraque luxuriant. Æson miratur, et olim  
Ante quaterdenos hunc se reminiscitur annos.*

Ovid. *Met.* vii. 288.

Eusebius not only mentions not this *tradition* in his *Eccl. History*, or in his *Chronicon*, but in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, speaking of the sufferings of the apostles, of the death of Stephen, of James the brother of John, of James the brother of Christ, of Peter and of Paul, he only says of John, Ἰωάννης τε νήσω παραδίδοται, and *John is banished and sent into an island.* iii. p. 116.

Christ had said to James and John, *Ye shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with*, which possibly gave occasion to the invention of this punishment. The *caldron* (as a kind of *scyphus Herculeus*) represented *the cup*, and *the oil* the *baptism*, especially as oil was used in baptism in the days of Tertullian.

The anointing of the baptized person began about his time ; it was not practised when Justin Martyr wrote, as appears from the account which he hath given of this religious rite ; and the story of St John's *caldron* might be made in Tertullian's days, to represent a *figurative* or *metaphorical cup* ; and *baptism*, or *afflictions* and *martyrdom*. Joannes Ciampini published an explication of an ancient marble monument, which he thinks to have been of the sixth century. It represents in *Basso Relievo* an huge caldron, or vessel, in which are a king and a queen, and a man standing by it pours water upon the head of the king, who is praying with his hands joined. This he supposes to describe the baptism of some prince, performed by

immersion and superinfusion. See *Act. Erudit.* 1698. p. 46.

Tertullian had no small share of credulity ; he proves that the soul is *corporeal*, from the visions of an *illuminated sister*, who told him that she had seen a soul. *De Anima*, p. 311. He affirms roundly, *constat*, says he, *Ethnicis quoque testibus*, that a fine city was seen for forty days, suspended in the air over Jerusalem. This report of some crazy pilgrim or idle stroller, he adopted, as a proof that the *millennium* was at hand. *Contra Marc.* iii. 24. How can one depend upon his testimony in things which are of the preternatural and miraculous kind ?

St John is called a *martyr* by some ancient Christians ; and so he was, when he was banished to an island, and suffered *pœnam capitalem*.

A. D. 107. Contemporary with Ignatius was Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, the father of traditions, and a man of small judgment, who wrote an exposition of the discourses of Christ. He was extremely diligent in enquiring *what the ancients, what Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, and the rest of the Lord's disciples had said or taught*, Apud Euseb. iii. 39.

Mr Whiston has somewhere observed, that Papias takes no notice of *Paul*, and therefore probably was of the sect of the *Ebionites*, who hated that apostle. His remark is, like many other of his remarks, ingenious ; and Papias is said to have made use of the gospel according to the Hebrews, which was received by the the Ebionites. *Euseb.* But yet, in behalf of poor Papias, whom one would rather rank amongst the *simpletons* than amongst the *heretics*, it might be urged,  
that

that as his design was to collect all the *unwritten* sayings and actions of Christ, he thought that nothing of that kind could be learned from St Paul, who had not conversed with the Lord, as Peter, Matthew, &c. And indeed it is scarcely conceivable how Papias could reverence St John, and yet be an Ebionite, since the gospel of that apostle is so directly against the notions of the Ebionites.

A. D. 116. We have an epistle of Tiberianus, governor of part of Palestine, and called *Palestine præmæ Præses*, to Trajan, in which he speaks of the invincible obstinacy of the Galilæans, or Christians, under his jurisdiction, with punishing and destroying whom he declares himself quite tired. Pearson, in his *Vindic. Ignat.* and some late writers, and Dr Middleton also, treat this epistle as genuine; which is an oversight, since there are so many reasons to think it spurious, as Dodwell has shewed *Dissert. Cypr.* xi. p. 244. We have it only from Suidas and Malela, two sorry vouchers, and Eusebius knew nothing of it. See Middleton, *Inquiry*, p. 201. S. Basnage *Annal.* ii. p. 38. and particularly Tillemont, who fairly gives it up, and informs us that Valesius accounted it the work of a *blockhead* and an *impostor*. *Eccl. Hist.* ii. p. 170. 571. Le Clerc also, though he lets it pass uncensured in his *Apostolical Fathers*, ii. p. 181. rejects it, where he gives an account of that edition: *Il y a une Relation supposée de Tiberien Gouverneur de la premiere Palestine à Trajan.* Bibl. A. et M. xxi. 304. So I hope we shall hear no more of it henceforward, either for or against the behaviour of the martyrs.

Quadratus and Aristides wrote apologies for the Christian religion, and addressed and delivered them

to Adrian, A. D. 126. So Eusebius and Jerom inform us. See Tillemont H. E. ii. p. 232.

—τὸ Κόδράτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαν συντάξας.—ὃς Ἀριτείδης—ἀπολογίαν ἐπιφώνησας Ἀδριανῷ, κατέλειπε. Euseb. iv. 3. *Quadratus—nonne Adriano Eleu- since sacra invisenti librum pro nostra religione tradidit, et tantæ admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius excellens sedaret ingenium?* Hieron. Ep. 84. Προσφωνεῖν is to dedicate a book, which may indeed be done without presenting it. Τοσαῦτα βιβλία γράψας, ὕδενι τῶν βασιλέων προσεφώνησε, says Diogenes Laertius of Chrysippus. *Some of the Pagan philosophers dedicated some of their books to Origen*, says Eusebius vi. 19.—τότε μὲν αὐτῷ προσφωνήσαντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν λόγους,—see also Euseb. vii. 20.

Unfortunately these apologies are lost. If they could be retrieved even at the expence of some homilies, and creeds, and controversial writings of the fourth and fifth centuries, it would be a cheap bargain.

It is not to be imagined that all the works of this kind, which were addressed to the emperors, were presented by the authors, or that books in those days were as much spread and as well known as they are now, since the art of printing; and yet the genteel civility and decency and politeness which is so observable in the apology of Athenagoras \*, and in that of Melito (of which a fragment is preserved in Eusebius), seems to imply that they had a design to offer them, or that they expected to have them perused by the emperor. See Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* v. 36. and Bayle's *Dict.* ATHENAGORAS.

*Præsentem*

\* Tertullian compared to these two fathers in point of address and courtesy is a very clown, and so is Justin Martyr.



*Præsentem sane Cæsaribus fuisse Athenagoram, verba deprecantis ostendunt* : Ἑμεῖς δὲ, ὃ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι φύσι καὶ παιδείᾳ χρηστοὶ καὶ μέτριοι καὶ φιλόανθρωποι, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιοι, διακελευμένοι μὲν τὰ ἐκλήμαλα—τὴν βασιλικὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπινεύσατε. *Vos vero, o undequaque in omnibus naturâ simul et disciplinâ boni, moderati, benigni, et imperio digni Principes, mihi obsecro, qui crimina nobis objecta dissolvi, capitibus regiis annuite.* S. Basnage, *Annal.* ii. p. 161. A weak argument to prove that Athenagoras pronounced his apology before the emperor ! If Basnage had thought twice upon it, he would have blotted it out.

But it is not at all improbable that Quadratus and Aristides delivered their apologies into Adrian's hand, or at least that those apologies were seen by him ; for besides the testimonies of Eusebius and Jerom, which favour that opinion, it is to be observed, that Adrian is represented in history as one whose knowledge was various and extensive, and who was excessively curious and inquisitive, *curiositatem omnium explorator* ; Tertullian, *Apol.* He had studied all magical arts, he had been initiated into Pagan mysteries, and he must have been inclined to know the true nature of Christianity, and to see what the learned of that sect had to say for themselves. Julian, in his *Cæsars*, banters Adrian for his pragmatistical disposition, little thinking that he was drawing his own picture, and not considering that he was just such another as Adrian in many respects.

There was then no edict or law which particularly forbade Christians to write in their own defence, or to read this or that book. Justin Martyr was probably mistaken in some of his assertions on this point, as Le Clerc observes, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 624. The last editor of Justin takes this point under consideration, but

he hath hardly given a satisfactory account of it, or removed the difficulties. *Pref.* p. 84.

If there had been any danger in presenting an apology to Adrian, yet every one who knows ecclesiastical history, must know that the Christians of those times were men whom the fear of death would not have deterred. But the danger perhaps was not so great: Adrian seldom acted cruelly, except when he was moved by suspicion, jealousy, or envy, and whatsoever his temper was, he ever affected to appear generous, mild, open, gentle, and affable: *in colloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit*, says Spartian, *Adr.* 20. much more might he admit Aristides, who was a learned man, an Athenian, and a philosopher; for he loved to converse with men of letters, and he was by incorporation an Athenian; he had been at Athens before he was emperor, and the Athenians had paid him the compliment of making him their *Archon*\*, and he was always kind to them.

Adrian seems to have had no hatred for the Christians, or for any other religious sects, and to have been more disposed to banter than to persecute them. In a letter to Servianus, in which he gives the Egyptians a very bad character, he observes that Alexandria was inhabited by Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and worshippers of the Egyptian deities, and that all these people, notwithstanding their diversity of opinions, and their religious squabbles, in reality worshipped only *one* God, and that God was *money*. See *Vopiscus*, Saturnin. 8. p. 719. and the *Miscell. Observ.* ii. p. 309. The Egyptians had no extraordinary character with many people. Vid. Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1128.

Adrian

\* Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* ii. p. 197.

Adrian gave a rescript to Minucius Fundanus concerning the Christians (preserved in Eusebius iv. 9. and at the end of Justin's first Apology) which is obscure. It is probable that he composed it so on purpose, for the same reason that moved his predecessor Trajan to grant the Christians only an half-favour, and a sort of connivence. Thus Severus Alexander paid divine honours to Christ, and was very kind to the Christians, and yet, as Lampridius expresses it pretty accurately, *Judeis privilegia reservavit; Christianos esse passus est.* 22. 29. Adrian's rescript, though it doth not manifestly exempt Christians from punishment, yet seems in some degree to favour them, and might have been so interpreted by a judge who was disposed to put the mildest construction upon it. The Christians therefore made their use of it, and often appealed to it.

Lampridius, who was a pagan, mentions a report that Adrian had a design to deify Jesus Christ, and to build him a temple; but he positively affirms that Severus Alexander intended it. He adds that the emperor (I suppose he means Alexander) was deterred by some persons, probably pagan priests, who consulting the gods, found, as they said, that, if such a thing were executed, Christianity would be established and paganism abolished. *Christo templum facere voluit* [Severus Alexander] *eumque inter deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris \* jusserat fieri: que hodie idcirco*

\* Interea ea traditio Lampridii nobis lucro est. Etenim si imaginibus referta tum temporis fuissent templa Christianorum, fingi nullo potuisset modo, *Adriania* numinibus vacua Christo fuisse posita. Neque

*idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra, reppererant omnes Christianos futuros si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda.*

43. The report concerning Adrian's design was groundless in all probability. See Spartian. *Adr.* 13. and Basnage *Annal.* ii. p. 59. and yet it evidently shews that he never passed for an enemy to Christianity.

Since the Christian apologists \* reproach the pagans for their human sacrifices, Quadratus and Aris- tides may be supposed to have touched upon that subject. Adrian † forbad this wicked practice, and also made laws in favour of slaves.

Several apologies were afterwards made by Christians, addressed sometimes to the emperors and the senate. Pagans of rank and quality were perhaps not much moved by them, yet they must have had some knowledge of them; for doubtless the Christians, who valued neither danger nor money nor labour, when the common cause required it, and of whom some were of good families and fortunes, got them transcribed, and handed them about to persons of eminence, and it could be no difficult thing to give them

*que Adriano aliquid causæ fuisset cur ejusmodi templa conderet, expertia simulacrorum, si Ecclesia in more habuit imagines in templis collocare. Nullæ quoque, Constantino imperante, imagines Christianorum in Basilicis videbantur, utpote quæ ad similitudinem Adrianorum accedebant, Basnage Annal. ii. p. 60,*

\* Dr Middleton, and many besides him, have observed that of the Christian Apologists the latter often copy the earlier; and a man who reads them must be blind not to see it, or perverse not to own it.

† Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* ii. 262, &c. See also Eusebius *Præp. Ev.* iv. 16. 17.



them to those emperors who had learning and humanity. And indeed, which is very remarkable, the apologies are addressed to such sort of emperors, to Adrian, Titus Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and perhaps to Commodus, \* who, bad as he was, yet shewed kindness to the Christians. The emperors commonly were accessible enough, and did not use to hide themselves like eastern monarchs. Augustus, for example, suffered all persons to approach him, and when a poor man once offered him a petition in a timorous manner, with a hand half extended and half drawn back, the emperor jested with him, and told him that he looked as if he was giving a halfpenny to an elephant. *Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam joco corripuerit, quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, quasi elephanto stipem.* Suet. *Aug.* 53. Nor was the style of the apologists such as could disgust the readers. They wrote in general as well, and with as much learning, elegance, vivacity, and good sense, as their pagan contemporaries. These Christians were by no means obscure and contemptible persons; they had enjoyed a liberal education, they were learned, and some of them had been philosophers, and retained the habit of philosophers; and in those days a philosopher and a man of letters might have access to persons of the highest rank and quality: Le Clerc was far from thinking that the ancient defenders of Christianity were quite despised by the heathen, as some are willing to imagine. On the contrary, he supposes that their arguments against  
paganism

\* Tillemont, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. p. 631, and Justin M. *Ed. Paris* 1742. *Præf.* p. cxii.

paganism contributed greatly to its destruction. “ It  
 “ is very necessary for those who would be well ac-  
 “ quainted with ecclesiastical history, to read the au-  
 “ thors who in the early ages composed apologies for  
 “ Christianity, and at the same time overset the re-  
 “ ligion of the heathen. These were the first attacks  
 “ which were made on paganism, and which gave  
 “ the very pagans such a disgust for it, that almost  
 “ the whole Roman empire declared for Christianity,  
 “ as soon as it was safe to do so.” *Bibl. Chois.* xxvii.  
 426.

Under Adrian the Jews revolted, and were severely handled, and Jerusalem was again taken and sacked and burnt, and totally destroyed, according to several writers. *The melancholy view of its ruinous condition caused an infinite number of people to embrace Christianity, as it set before their eyes the truth of Christ's predictions*, says Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* ii. 295. for which he refers us to Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evang.* p. 407. *Ed. Par.* But this accurate author is here mistaken, I think, and makes Eusebius say more than can fairly be inferred from his words. See the passage, which is too long to be here inserted.

At this time lived Aquila, who translated the Bible into Greek. He was converted from paganism by the *piety* and *miracles* of the Christians, says Epiphanius *De Mens.* c. 14, 15. and afterwards apostatized, and went over to Judaism. But Epiphanius was made up of hastiness and credulity, and is never to be trusted where he speaks of a *miracle*. For example :

He relates that many fountains and rivers were annually turned into wine on the same day, and at the same hour when Christ wrought his miracle at

Cana

Cana in Galilee ; that this wonder continued at Cibra in Caria, where he himself had drunk out of the fountain, and at Gerasa in Arabia, and that many testified the same of the river Nile.

The pagans had miracles of the same kind. *In Andro insula, templo Liberi Patris, fontem Nonis Januariis semper vini sapore fluere Mucianus ter Consul credit.* Plinius ii. 106. p. 121.

*Mucianus Andri, e fonte Liberi Patris, statis diebus septenis ejus Dei vinum fluere, si auferatur a conspectu templi, sapore in aquam transeunte.* Idem, xxxi. 13. p. 549.

Baronius was either so credulous, or so disingenuous, as to urge this miracle at Andros in confirmation of those which are attested by Epiphanius. It was an artifice of the priests of Bacchus, and served to delude silly pagans, as S. Basnage observes *Ann.* i. 217.

We may conjecture, from the relation of Epiphanius, that there were in his time, i. e. in the fourth century, pious knaves, who once a year conveyed wine into the fountain at Cibra, and that the father drank a cup of this adulterated liquor, and was imposed upon by these jugglers. The trick might serve for other purposes besides those of a godly nature ; it might draw company to the *Wells of Cibra* once a year, and enrich the neighbourhood, and the proprietors of the holy water.

This is the civilest thing that we can say of Epiphanius, since he must have been either a dupe or a deceiver. Learned and judicious men, who have examined his writings, have been forced to conclude that, with all his learning and piety, he was credulous, careless,

careless, censorious, and one who made no scruple of romancing and misrepresenting.

The miracle of the fountains is just as good as that recorded by Orosius, that the tracks of Pharaoh's chariot-wheels remained in the sand of the Red-sea, and that neither the winds nor the waves could efface them.

Here is another tradition of the same kind from Epiphanius. Jerom mentions a particularity of the fountain Siloam, that it flows not regularly, but bursts out with great violence at different times. *Siloam autem fontem esse ad radices montis Sion, qui non jugibus aquis, sed in certis horis diebusque ebulliat, et per terrarum concava et antra saxi durissimi cum magno impetu veniat, dubitare non possumus, nos præsertim qui in hac habitamus provincia.* In Esai. viii.

If we may believe Epiphanius, God produced this fountain at the prayer of Isaiah, a little before the death of that prophet, when he was just expiring, and wanted water to drink, and thence it was called *Siloam* or *Sent*. He adds, that when the Jews were besieged, if they went to draw water there, it sprang up in great abundance; but if their enemies approached to it, it withdrew itself: in testimony of which, says he, the fountain still bursts out at intervals, and suddenly. *De Vit. Proph.* This fable also is transcribed by Baronius, as a thing to be credited, for which he is justly censured by S. Basnage *Ann.* i. p. 334. whom the reader may consult.

But what Josephus affirms concerning this fountain at the time when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, and which is also taken notice of by Basnage, is extremely remarkable, and should be added to what has been said, Book I. p. 38. concerning the wonders which happened at the destruction of Jerusalem, and  
which



which shewed that God had forsaken the Jews: *τίτω μὲν γὰρ ἡ πηγαὶ πλεσιώτεραι ρέουσιν, αἱ ξηρανθεῖσαι πρότερον ὑμῖν. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς παρουσίας, τὴν τε Σιλωὰμ ἐπιλιπῶσαν ἴσε, ἡ τὰς ἐξω τῆ ἁγείας ἀπάσας, ὥς πρὸς ἀμφορεῖς ὠνεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔτω πληθύνουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑμῶν, ὥς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ κήνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήποις διαρκεῖν.* *Even the fountains flow profusely for Titus, which refused their streams to you: for this you know, that before his coming, Siloam, and all the springs without the city, failed to such a degree, that water was bought by the pitcher, but now they are so profusely liberal to your enemies, as to supply not only them and their beasts, but the gardens also.* Bell. Jud. Ed. Hav. v. 9.

In the time of Domitian, Trajan, and Adrian, lived Plutarch. In his numerous writings he never makes any mention of the Christian religion, perhaps not daring to speak well, and not caring to speak ill of it, says Tillemont. I rather think that he had never examined it, or concerned himself about it. Philosophy and history engrossed his thoughts and his time.

A little earlier flourished Quintilian, who hath made a slight mention of Judaism. *Et est conditoribus urbium infame contraxisse aliquam perniciosam cæteris gentem, qualis est primus Judaicæ superstitionis auctor.* iii. 7. p. 270. Ed. Burm. Some have imagined that he meant Christ and the Christians, but it is plain to the last degree that he reflects upon Moses. He had probably in view the conquest which that people made under Moses and Joshua, and their war with Vespasian and the Romans.

Polycarp suffered under Marcus Aurelius, about A. D. 169. of whose martyrdom we have an account in Eusebius, iv. 15. who took it from an epistle of the church of Smyrna, of which he inserted the greater  
part

part in his history. Usher found and published a copy of this epistle, and it is inserted in Le Clerc's *Patres Apostolici*. In the conclusion there is a foolish note of one Pionius the transcriber. There are some differences (though most of them small) between Eusebius and the epistle, as for example in the *dream* or *vision* of Polycarp, in the doxology at the end of his prayer, and in the description of the Martyr standing in the flames, ὡς ἄρτος ὀπλῶμενος, *as a loaf whilst it is baking*, which is not in Eusebius.

The wonders relating to his martyrdom are these :

He had a dream, or vision, portending what should befall him. Much the same thing is said to have happened to Socrates. See Book I. p. 90. Καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐν ὀπλῳ γέγονε, πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τε συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν· ἢ εἶδεν προσκεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πυρὸς καίκαϊόμενον· ἢ σραφεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς τῆς συνήθους αὐτοῦ προφητικῶς· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καίκαυθῆναι. *Et cum oraret, triduo ante quam comprehenderetur, visio ei oblata est; viditque cervical saum incendio conflagrare. Tum conversus ad comites suos, prophetice dixit; Oportet me vivum comburi.*

A voice from heaven encouraged him. Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον, φωνὴ ἐξ ὀρατοῦ ἐγένετο. "Ἰσχυε ἢ ἀνδρίζε, Πολύκαρπε. Καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ὕδεις εἶδε, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἡμέτερον οἱ παρόντες ἤκουσαν. *Porro Polycarpo intranti in stadium, vox e caelo facta est; Fortis esto, et viriliter age, Polycarpe. Et cum quidem qui vocem emisit, vidit nemo, vocem qui e nostris praesentes erant audierunt.*

The fire would not burn him. Μεγάλῃς δὲ ἐκλαμφάσῃς φλογὶ, θαῦμα μέγα εἶδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη· οἱ καὶ ἐτηρέθημεν, εἰς τὸ ἀναγείλῃαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γερόμενα· τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμάρας εἶδος ποιεῖσαν, ὥσπερ ὅθιη πλοῖα ὑπὸ πνεύματις πληρημένη, κύκλῳ περιετείχιτε τὸ σῶμα τῷ μάστιγι· καὶ ἦν μέσον ἔχῃ ὡς σάβζ· καιομένη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρτος ὀπλῶμενος, ἢ ὡς χρύσος ἢ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρᾶμενος.

*Cum*

*Cum vero ingens flamma emicasset, grande miraculum vidimus, quibus spectare concessum fuit; qui et ideo reservati sumus, ut aliis quæ contigerunt annuntiaremus. Ignis enim fornicis speciem præbens, tanquam navis velum a vento repletum atque sinuatum, undique circumdedit Martyris corpus; quod quidem in medio positum, non ut caro assa videbatur, sed veluti panis coctus, vel sicut aurum et argentum in fornace candens.*

A sweet smell came out of the pile. Καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀνιelaθόμεθα, ὡς λιβανῶς πνέοντος, ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων. *Tantum quippe fragrantiam odorabamur, ac si thus, aut aliud quoddam pretiosorum aromatum oluisset.*

A great quantity of blood came from him; which seems to be mentioned as something marvellous.

A dove at the same time came out of the wound. Πέρας ἔν ιδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι ἐ δυνάμενον αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον, καὶ τῷτο ποιήσαντος ἐξῆλθε περισερά καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ, καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον, εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορὰ μέλαξυ τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. *Tandem igitur cernentes improbi corpus ipsius ab igne non posse consumi, jusserunt confectorem propius accedere, pugionemque capulo tenus abdere. Quod cum ille fecisset, egressa est columba, item tanta vis sanguinis, ut ignem extingueret, utque universa plebs miraretur tantum esse discrimen inter infideles ac electos.*

From the agreement between the epistle and Eusebius in the main (the *dove* excepted) it appears that we have the epistle now as Eusebius had it, or nearly so; and since Eusebius speaks of it as of an ancient and well-known writing, ἐγγράφως ἔτι φερόμενον, if it was a forgery, it must have been composed long before his time. But, excepting the marvellous parts, the rest

of the narration hath all the appearance of truth and of fact ; the manner of apprehending the martyr, the speeches of the proconsul, the behaviour and prayer of Polycarp, the rage of the populace, and particularly of the Jews, the zeal of the Christians and their affection for their bishop, &c. all is consistent and probable, and many little incidents are mentioned which have not the air of fiction.

The Christians who accompanied Polycarp at his execution, highly revered and almost adored him : they attended with a full expectation, as we may suppose, of seeing some strange events, and the sight of their dear and honoured friend thus dying might raise in them a tumult of passions, and take away some of the sedateness which may be requisite in forming an accurate judgment.

Let us now consider the miraculous parts of the story.

I see no reason to doubt of Polycarp's vision, or to think it improbable that this apostolical father, and holy martyr should have been forewarned of his sufferings, and prepared to expect them, and enabled to give his friends this proof that God was with him and assisted him. He himself interpreted the vision, signifying by what death he should glorify God. Without this intimation he could not have known that he should be condemned to the flames, because there were many other ways of destroying criminals, and of several martyrs, who at that time had been executed, not one was burnt, but they were thrown to the beasts, as the epistle informs us, after having endured with amazing patience and courage the worst tortures which malicious cruelty could contrive ; and when Polycarp was condemned, the populace requested that



that he might be exposed to the lions; and because it could not be done they then chose to have him burnt.

To this foreknowledge which he had received of his death he seems to allude in his last prayer at the stake, in which he blesses God for calling him to martyrdom, and prays that he may be received of him as an acceptable sacrifice, καθὼς προητοίμασας, ἡ ΠΡΟΕΦΑΝΕΨΩΣΑΣ, ἡ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδὴς ἡ ἀληθινὸς Θεός.—*quemadmodum præparasti, et præmonstrasti, et adimplevisti, mendacii nescius ac verax Deus.*

For these reasons I cannot assent to the solution proposed by Middleton: *The foresight of his death, and the manner of it, in the time of a cruel persecution, when his person was particularly hunted from village to village, as the principal and destined sacrifice, may reasonably be considered as the effect of common prudence, without recurring to any thing miraculous.* Inquiry, p. 9.

Polycarp prophesied that he should be burnt alive: the event was, that the fire could not burn him, its natural power being preternaturally suspended, and that he died by the sword. This, as the author of *the two previous questions* observes, is a difficulty. It will afford reason to doubt either of the prophecy, or of the miracle by which the power of the fire was restrained: and of the two, it were better to give up the latter than the former, if both cannot stand together.

Tillemont was aware of this difficulty, and therefore supposes that Polycarp was killed by the fire, before he was wounded. *Les Payens luy firent donner un coup d'épée—Il ne faut pas doubter néanmoins qu'il ne fut mort des auparavant, puisque Dieu luy avoit revelé qu'il devoit estre brûlé.* H. Ec. ii. 341. But this

solution is also attended with some difficulties. The epistle intimates no such thing, but rather that he died, partly at least, by the sword; and, if he perished by the flames, Naturalists must determine, whether a man who dies in the fire, and then is run through, will bleed plentifully. One would not willingly have recourse to a miracle for the effusion of blood, because such a miracle could tend to no purpose.

Le Moyne says, *Licet fuerit Polycarpus vulnere et telo confossus, tamen vivus arsit, et in pyra beatam suam animam efflavit*. Proleg. ad Var. Sacr.

S. Basnage, who admits the rest of the account, hesitates at this part of it, at the effusion of blood; *Unum est quod nos non satis capere profitemur: Confectorem propius accedere, &c. Tantumne sanguinis senili ex corpore pene exangui, ætateque confecto manavit e vulnere, ut pyra ardens et magna satis, penitus extincta sit? Cætera vero mirâ dulcedine alliciunt animos*. Annal. ii. p. 138.

Some to reconcile the \* vision with the event, will perhaps say that the vision of the pillow consumed by fire was sufficiently completed by Polycarp's dying at the stake, and by the burning of his body after he was dead; and that, if there was a small error, it was in Polycarp's interpretation. *Prophetæ*

\* When a deacon, called Sosius, was performing divine service, his head appeared surrounded with flames, which portended his martyrdom. Surius Sept. 23. The writer might borrow this from Polycarp's vision, or from Virgil's:

*Ecce levis subito de vertice visus Iuli  
Fundere lumen apex.*

or from the story of Servius Tullius in Livy, i. 39. *cui caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu*. This Sosius was a companion of that Januarius who works miracles to this day in Naples with wonderful perseverance.

*phetæ visorum suorum non semper fidi interpretes. Donum prophetias interpretandi prorsus erat distinctum a prophetice charismate*, says Fell on *Cyprian*.

As to the voice † from heaven, there is nothing frivolous in such a miracle; it might be true: but yet it is a miracle which might be counterfeited, and one single Christian might have made the speech from a house-top, near the *stadium*, and have lain concealed there; and if he kept his counsel, all his brethren might have been deceived by him.

The human voice, if it be clear and strong, may be heard at a great distance. The Heralds in Homer had this accomplishment, and were *βοὴν ἀγαθοὶ*, and Darius Hystaspis had an Egyptian in the army who was as good as a speaking-trumpet. *Ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων*, who saved Darius and the army when they were in great danger, by the force of his lungs. *Herodotus* iv. p. 266.

If the voice had been accompanied with an unusual splendor in the air, or with an earthquake, or preceded

U 3

by

† When Constantius, an Arian emperor, was carried in funeral pomp, his friends affirmed that a choir of angels attended the procession, singing and playing in the air; and Gregory Nazianzen thought fit to record this miracle. *Ea subdit Nazianzenus, quibus fidem afferre nobis est difficillimum*: Cum corpus Tauro monte superato, ad paternam civitatem veheretur, vox quædam e summis locis a nonnullis audiebatur, velut psallentium et prosequentium; Angelicorum, opinor, cœtuum, quod pietatis illi præmium erat, funebrique remuneratio. Orat. 4. *Quæ figmenta ex Ariana officina prodiisse videntur*. S. Basnage, *Ann.* ii. 863. Gregory Nazianzen had a favourable opinion of Constantius; but Lucifer Calaritanus, Hilary, and Athanasius load him with reproaches, and call him *Tyrant*, *Antichrist*, &c. Thus you have fathers against fathers, and saints against saints.

by thunder and lightning in a clear sky, the wonder had been evident.

The author of the epistle observes that *the Christians* who attended Polycarp, *heard this voice*, but says not a word of the Jews and Gentiles, and leaves us uncertain whether they heard it or no.

A sweet smell issued from the pile. This is surely a very suspicious miracle ; and they who have defended the account of Polycarp's martyrdom, are willing to pass it over as fast as they can. They are in the right, for in truth it casts some dishonour upon the whole narration. The fact in all probability was true ; scented wood is common in hot countries, and the odour might proceed from the fuel, for the people ran about to the baths and other places to get wood ; and a Christian might also join with them, and bring a bundle of wood with aromatics enclosed in it, to honour the funeral of his bishop. It had been an ancient fashion in various places to waste abundance of aromatics in burning dead persons of rank and quality ; or those who threw themselves alive into the flames in complaisance to the deceased, or in compliance with cruel custom, as the Indian wives or a philosopher, who now and then mounted the pile, and entertained the public with roast-meat, as the Gymnosophists, Calanus, &c. The writer of the epistle would make us believe that these perfumes were conferred on Polycarp's pile, miraculously no doubt, else it would not have been worth the recording. The Christians, however frugal in other respects, yet in these expences were very profuse at the interment of their brethren. *Si Arabice queruntur*, says Tertullian, *sciunt Sabcei pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam Diis fumigandis*.

This



This account of the yielding of the flames, of the voice, and of the sweet odour might give occasion to later writers to apply these wonders to other martyrs, as they frequently do. See Prudentius *Περὶ Στεφ.* vi. 100. and Basil, *Hom.* v. not to mention many more. The history of *the aromatic scent of the sacred bones* would fill a moderate folio. By the help of this odour reliques were discovered, and genuine bones distinguished from counterfeits, and it was very easy to find out a saint, without borrowing the *Lanthorn of Diogenes* :

*Ubi ubi est, diu celari non potest.*

Tillemont is excessively fond of this prodigy, and never fails to record it with great seriousness ; and indeed there is no reason to question the fact, for of all miracles it is the easiest to be performed, and therefore the least satisfactory :

*—Non bene olet, qui bene semper olet.*

The Pagan goddesses also smelt very sweet, as the poets, to whom they were best known, testify :

*Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem  
Spiravere,*

says Virgil.

*Mansit odor ; posses scire fuisse deam.*

Ovid. *Fast.* v.

The Temple at Hierapolis smelt of the sweetest perfume, as the writer *De Dea Syria* assures us.

In Abul-Feda's life of Mohammed, we are told that a most agreeable odour proceeded from his carcase after he was dead.

Copres, a monk of the fourth century, is said to have stood half an hour in the midst of a great fire, unhurt, to confute a poor Manichæan doctor who could not perform the same exploit. Rufinus *Vit. Patrum.*

Helles,

Helles, another monk of those days would carry fire in his bosom, which neither singed his clothes nor his skin. *Sozomen* vi. 28. This miracle was wrought with a view to what is said, *Prov.* vi. 27. *Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burnt?* But Solomon, as well as Bernard, *non vidit omnia.* *Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burnt?* *Prov.* vi. 28. This is what Pagans have pretended to do, as we shall see :

*incedunt per ignes*

*Suppositos cineri doloso.*

The arching of the flames, &c. if it was just as the author of the epistle relates it, must have been something preternatural : but the question is, whether the author's imagination did not impose upon him, and make him fancy a little more in it than there really was. If Polycarp had prophesied that his enemies could not and should not burn him, it had been \* remarkable indeed : but here is a martyr, who could not be burned, and who was run through without difficulty. Besides the seeming disagreement of the prediction and the event, one may reasonably ask. To what purpose this miracle ? nor is the question easily answered.

Yet that is not all : the miracle was not only of the useless kind, but it might have produced rather a bad than a good effect on the minds of the spectators :  
The

\* Therefore, as later authors improve upon their predecessors, the writers of the martyrdom of Romanus say, that when he was condemned to the flames, he declared before hand that the fire should not burn him, and accordingly a miraculous shower (borrowed it may be from the story of Cræsus in Herodotus) put it out. *Prudentius.*

The Pagans had many examples in their fabulous and poetic history of men who had been unhurt in the flames, and they had also their priests and priestesses who walked barefoot over the fire without harm ; but these things were supposed by some Pagans to be tricks, by others to be magical operations ; and consequently the inference made by the vulgar Pagans, and perhaps by the Jews, would have been, that Polycarp was an old magician, who had recourse, though in vain, to enchantments, and that his Dæmon had secured him for a time, from the flames, but could not protect him from the sword. Virgil *Æn.* xi. 785.

*Summe Deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,  
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo  
Pascitur ; et medium freti pietate per ignem  
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.*

Where *Servius* ; Freti pietate. *Iste quidem hoc dixit ; sed Varro, ubique expugnator religionis, ait, cum quoddam medicamentum describeret : “ Eo uti solent Hirpini, “ qui ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento plantas tingunt.”*

*Haud procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiæ sunt paucæ, quæ vocantur Hirpi ; hæ sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Appolini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non adurantur. Et ob id perpetuo Senatusconsulto militice omniumque aliorum munerum vacationem habent. Plinius l. vii. p. 372.*

Ἐν τοῖς Κασαβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περασίας Ἀψίμιδος ἱερὸν, ὅπερ φασὶ τὰς ἱερέας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι’ ἀνθρακίᾳς βαδίζειν ἀπαθεῖς. *Apud Castabala autem Perasice Dianæ finum est, ubi aiunt fœminas sacerdotes ilcesis pedibus per prunas ambulare. Strabo.*

Le Clerc, speaking of the water of jealousy, *Numb.* v. says, *An ultio dicina perjurium illico sequeretur non docet*

*docet Moses, et rara hæc videntur fuisse exempla. Hugo Grotius exempla ex Scriptoribus Ethnicis adfert fontium, quorum aquæ perjuros arguisse feruntur, nec rei fidem detrahit. Sed tot ficta miracula, apud Ethnicos narrabantur, ut ulli credere vix possimus. Alia est ratio Hebræorum, &c. Multa quoque in infimi ævi historiis habemus de probationibus per ignem, per aquam, &c. quæ tam mihi nefas videntur omnia credere, quam omnia rejicere. Certe ut veri non sunt sat clara in iis argumenta : ita nec mendacii indicii manifestis notata sunt. Ideoque an vera sint, aut falsa, nos quidem scire non possumus.*

The custom of trying the innocence of suspected persons by fire, or boiling water, is very ancient, for it is mentioned in the *Antigone*\* of Sophocles, and it lasted till the fourteenth century in Europe, and is said to continue still in some places. But the horrible rashness and the profane impudence of appealing thus to God, without his permission, and of calling upon him to interpose miraculously, and the injuries which on these occasions have been done to the innocent, and the favour which hath been shewed to the guilty, incline us to think that no miracle of this kind was ever wrought at such trials, and that they who escaped, used some tricks, as well as the *Hirpi*. It would not be difficult to paint iron bars, so as to make them look as if they were red-hot.

It was the opinion of some that Cræsus had escaped the flames by the help of incantations.

Ἐφέσια γράμματ' α—ἐπ' ὧδ' αὖ, τινὲς φασίν, ἐκείνα ἦσαν, αἷς ἡ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς εἰπὼν ὠφελήθη—Παυσανίας δὲ φησιν,—ὅτι  
φωναὶ

\* Ἥμεν δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρεα αἶρεν χερσίν,

Καὶ πῦρ δίσπειν καὶ θεὸς ὀγκωμοτέιν---

*Eramus quoque parati et ferrum ignitum levare manibus,*

*Et per ignem ire, et jurare Deos,*



φωναὶ ἦσαν τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα φυσικὸν ἐμπεριέχουσι τὸν ἀλέξικακον, ὡς καὶ Κροῖσον ἐπὶ πυρᾶς, φησὶ καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰπεῖν. *Ephesiae literae*—*dicunt enim illas fuisse incantationes quasdam, quas et Cræsus juxta rogo impositus pronunciarit atque ita liberatus fuerit.*—*Pausanias vero ait—Ephesias literas fuisse voces quasdam, quæ naturalem quandam virtutem malorum depulseriam haberent; quas, ut etiam ille testatur, Cræsus rogo impositus pronunciaverit.* Eustathius in *Odyss.* Suidas. *Etymol. Magn.*

Of the same kind with the *Ephesian Letters* were these charms;

*Sista, Pista, Kista, Xista.*

and,

*Daries, Dardaries, Astaries, Dissunapiter, Huat, Hamat, &c.*

to which Varro and Cato ascribe great powers.

But, to return to Polycarp's martyrdom: If we may be permitted to hazard a conjecture upon this occasion, we may suppose that the Jews and Pagans, full of rage, brought together wood enough to burn ten persons, and heaped it all round the Martyr, and set fire to it in many places, which blazed up as at the pile of Cræsus, \* *περὶ ἑσχαλῖα*, at the extremities on all sides, and arched over Polycarp †. Upon this some of the Christians began to cry *a miracle*; his enemies said that the man was *a magician*, and fearing perhaps lest something extraordinary should appear in his favour, called for the executioner to dispatch him quickly

\* See the story in Herodotus.

† Something not unlike this was seen at the martyrdom of Porphyrius,—*ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθιγὸς ἔξω ἀπὸ μακρῆς ἀποστήσεως κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὸν τῆς πυρᾶς ἐνθένδε καὶ κείθεν ἀφ' ἀερίων τῶν ἐσχαλῖν τὴν φλόγα.* *Quin etiam cum rogos satis longo ab ipso intervallo circumquaque accensus fuisset ipse hinc inde flammam ore atrahabat.* Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 11.

quickly. There was no withstanding the giddy impatience of an irritated populace. The executioner complied, and ran Polycarp through, when he was almost dead and suffocated with the flames, and when perhaps his lower parts had been scorched ; and thus he perished partly by fire, and partly by the sword.

In order to reconcile the whole account, and to remove useless prodigies, it seems reasonable to suppose that there was nothing miraculous in the arching of the flames, that the fire had almost killed the martyr when he was wounded, and that the blood which issued from him quenched or damped the fire only on one side, and where it burned weakest.

The writer of the epistle observes, that Polycarp stood in the fire, *ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρρῶμενος*, *sicut aurum et argentum in fornace candens*, alluding possibly to those passages of scripture where the righteous are compared to gold and silver tried in the furnace, or to what is said of Christ, *Rev. i. καὶ οἱ πῶδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκοκιβάνῳ, ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένοι*. Eusebius uses the same kind of expression concerning Peter, who suffered martyrdom at the stake, in Diocletian's persecution :—*διὰ πυρὸς οἷα χρυσὸς ἀκραιφνέστατος*—*velut aurum purissimum per ignem probatus*—Mart. Pal. 10.

The story of the *dove* coming out of Polycarp's body, which is in the epistle, but not in Eusebius, or Rufinus, or Nicephorus, or two Mss. of the Latin translation of the epistle, arose possibly from a corruption of the text. The executioner stabbed him, and then *ἐξῆλθε περισερά καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος*, *a dove came out, and abundance of blood*. It is not likely that the author would have related so marvellous a circumstance so concisely and coldly in one single word *περισερά*, just as if he were ashamed of it, and wanted to get over it as fast as he could ;

could : but he might have written, with a very small alteration, ἐξῆλθεν ἐπ' ἀριστερά πλῆθος αἵματος, ὥστε καίλασθῆσαι τὸ πῦρ, *a great quantity of blood issued out on, or to the left side, and put out the fire* (on that side) : after which, the commanding officer ordered his body to be laid upon the wood and consumed, and the Christians had leave to gather up his bones. Or we might read, with an alteration still smaller, and without striking out the ἔ, ἐξῆλθεν ἐπ' ἀριστερά ἔ πλῆθος αἵματος, supposing ἔ to mean *even* : *there issued out even so much blood, as to extinguish the fire*. The *dove* could scarcely be mentioned designedly by the author, who would have said something more, or nothing at all. The first conjecture is proposed by Le Moyne, but he writes it, ἐξῆλθ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά. I should prefer ἐξῆλθεν, to avoid poetic numbers ; and besides, the *accusative plural* ἐπ' ἀριστερά, joined to a *verb of motion*, would be better than the *dative* or *ablative singular*, ἐπ' ἀριστερά. Ἐξῆλθεν ἐπ' ἀριστερά, *exiit ad laevam*, as in Homer *Il. M. 239*.

Εἴτ' ἐπὶ δέξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡελίον τε,

Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοίγε, ποτί ζόφον ἡερόναια.

Genes. xiii. 9. εἰς ἀριστερά—εἰς δεξιὰ. And so very often in the LXX.

Somebody \* hath proposed ἐξῆλθε περισσεία καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος, i. e. *there came out plenty and abundance of blood* ; which is clumsy enough. Another improves upon it, and conjectures, ἐξῆλθε περισσεία ὕδατος ἔ πλῆθος αἵματος, which is too bold, and passes the bounds of sober criticism.

When the virgin Eulalia was put to death, a dove, spotless and white as snow, flew out of her mouth, says Prudentius *Περὶ Στεφ. iii. 161*. This hath made some

\* Amongst other conjectures, one is, ἐπ' ἀριστερά. It should have been ἀπ' ἀριστεράς, or, ἀπ' ἀριστεράν.

some suspect that the story of Polycarp's *dove* might be somewhat more ancient than the time of Prudentius, and give occasion to the fiction about Eulalia's *dove*.

In the third century, when the Roman Christians were assembled together to chuse a bishop, a dove came and sat upon Fabian's head, to point him out for that office. This rumour Eusebius inserted in his history vi. 29. but he might as well have left it out.

In the fourth century, Ephraim Syrus went to Cæsarea, to visit Basil, and to hear him preach, and saw a dove, white as snow, and bright as the sun, sitting upon Basil's shoulder, and whispering to him what he should say. See *Tillemont* H. E. ix. 208.

These prodigies were borrowed partly from Pagan prodigies and auguries; and partly from some passages in the gospels, to which Christians ought to have paid more reverence, and not to have made this imprudent and impertinent use of them.

It seems probable upon the whole (for in points of this kind there is no such thing as certainty) that the writer of the epistle did not mention the *dove*. It is impossible to determine whether Eusebius found *περιεργά* in his copy or no; because though he had seen it there, he might have dropped it on purpose, accounting it to be either a ridiculous miracle, or an interpolation. When he gives an account of the death of Herod Agrippa from Josephus, *αὐτοῖς γράμμασιν*, in the very words, he drops the *ὅτι*, who, as Josephus says, appeared over the head of Agrippa, in which omission there is perhaps a little too much of the *finesse*. Mr Whiston endeavours to vindicate Eusebius in this affair, and forces the *ὅτι* upon him by the help of a conjecture. We are certain that this *bird* is  
in



in Josephus, but we have little reason to conclude that he ever was in Eusebius. One owl in the hand is worth two in the conjectural bush. See Eusebius H. E. ii. 10. and Josephus *Ant.* xix. 8. and Mr Whiston's translation and notes.

Eusebius i. 9. cites Josephus as mentioning *Lysanias the Tetrarch*, for which Jos. Scaliger and Valesius blame him, and take it to be a wilful misrepresentation.

After all, supposing that Eusebius suppressed the *dove*, I see no reason for *tragical outcries* that, by granting this, we must give him up as a writer of no integrity, and that all his credit is at an end. He had his defects, as well as other ancient writers, and some of those faults shall be taken notice of in their proper place. But in the case before us, it may be said, he had no mind to expose Christianity to the scoffs of infidels, and himself at the same time, by recording such a silly contemptible tale; and in such cases suppressions are more allowable than interpolations; the latter are always unpardonable, the former may sometimes be excusable; for, as a critic, Eusebius might justly suspect that the passage was not genuine, and as an historian, he might not care to go out of his way, and give reasons for omitting it, since that was not the method of writing in ancient times.

*Le Clerc*, says Middleton, took *ωρεπισεα* to be the true reading. How doth this appear? Because he gave it in his edition of the *Apostolical Fathers*. And so would any fair editor, who ought to represent the reading of the manuscript in such a remarkable place. But *Le Clerc* says nothing against it in his *Notes*. True; because he was in haste, which was often the case with him, and not disposed to discuss the question.

tion. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, he passes the *dove* over in silence, as not worthy to be mentioned, p. 729. and in his *Bibl. Chois.* xxvi. p. 218. he absolutely rejects it as an interpolation. *Il n'y a rien de cette Colombe dans un MS. que le P. Ruinart cite, non plus que dans Eusebe, etc. ce qui fait croire que c'est une addition de quelcun, qui vouloit rendre, par une fraude pieuse, le martyre de S. Polycarpe plus merveilleux.*

Polycarp's prayer at the stake is such as one might expect from an holy martyr, and it is in few words. When he had finished it, and said *Amen*, they set fire to the pile. Ἀναπέμφαντος αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμὴν, *cum amen clara voce insonuisset*—

*Verbum ἀναπέμφαντος hoc mihi indicare videtur, ipsam quidem orationem tacite ac submissa voce a Polycarpo pronunciatam fuisse; Amen vero edita voce prolatum.* Valesius.

*Non potuissent preces ab iis qui aderant Christianis audiri et aliis referri, si submissa voce eas fudisset Polycarpus. Quod miror Valesium ad animum non revocasse.* Clericus *Hist. Eccl.* p. 728.

The observation of Valesius is indeed neither judicious, nor worthy of him; nor will the word ἀναπέμπειν, joined to *Amen*, (take it as you will) prove that *the prayer* was uttered in a *low voice*. It should have been translated simply, *Et postquam amen pronunciasset, or emisisset*—

When the Proconsul exhorted Polycarp to comply, and to repent, and to say, Δίρε τὰς ἀθείας, *Away with the impious*, the saint looking severely on the multitude, and sighing, said, *Away with the impious.*

This, in the sense in which Polycarp must be supposed to have meant it, hath been thought too uncharitable, and therefore a forgery of the writer; yet, candidly

candidly interpreted, it may mean no more than this, *May true religion flourish, and impiety cease!* and some perhaps will be of opinion that this apostolical father spake *prophetically* to the wicked and persecuting Jews and Gentiles of Smyrna, who stood round him; impatient to destroy him; for not long after his martyrdom the city of Smyrna was overturned by a very violent earthquake, A. D. 177. in which many of them may be supposed to have perished. *Dio l. lxxi. Aristides Orat. 20, 21, 22, 41.*

When Polycarp was urged by the proconsul to renounce Christ, he replied, *These eighty-six years do I serve him, &c.*

Hence some have concluded that he was just so many years old. S. Basnage is of another opinion, and says that Polycarp meant, he had been so many years a bishop. Irenæus also represents him as *extremely and uncommonly old*, ἐπιπολὺ ᾧ ἀσφάμενε· καὶ πάνυ γεράλειος—Hence Basnage concludes that he was about 120 years old when he died. *Annal. i. p. 792.* I think we may suppose that the eighty-six years mentioned by Polycarp were neither those of his life nor those of his episcopal function, but of his being a Christian, and then, if he was converted at fourteen, he would be an hundred years old at his death. Many other persons have arrived to that age, and amongst Gruter's inscriptions is this: MEMORIAE. SEX. VIGELLII. AQUINAT. QVI. ANNVM. ATTIGIT. CENTES. SED. ALTERVM. ET. NONAG. PERPET. INOFFENSA. VALETVD. EXEGIT.

Polycarp says to the *Philippians* (in the old Latin version of his *Epistle*, which supplies the defect of the Greek copy) *De vobis enim gloriatur [Paulus] in omnibus Ecclesiis, quæ Deum solæ tunc cognoverant:*

*nos autem nondum noveramus.* Basnage, who, with Usher, thinks that Polycarp means himself by *nos*, makes this an argument for his great length of time : but it is not evident that Polycarp speaks of himself ; he may mean the Christians of Smyrna, as Cotelierius observes.

Tillemont places his death A. D. 166. See *Hist. Eccl.* ii. p. 635, &c. S. Basnage dates it 169.

When they would have fastened him with nails to the stake, he desired them to desist. He for whom I suffer, said he, will enable me to stand still, and not to fly from the fire : nor did his resolution fail him.

The miracles at his martyrdom are of the dubious and suspicious kind, and it is *possible* that the Epistle itself which contains them might have passed through the hands of interpolators before it came into those of Eusebius. That he suffered martyrdom is unquestionable : besides many other testimonies, we have that of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, in the second century, who says, Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. apud *Euseb.* v. 24.

*If\* any one imagines the relation made by the Church of Smyrna on this occasion to be just and faithful, he has a right to believe it.* I think so too ; and I add, that we have no right to insult him for being of that opinion. But let others also be permitted to suspend their assent.

Whatsoever we determine concerning the wonders, the behaviour of Polycarp, and of his contemporaries and fellow Christians, teaches us to determine that God was with them and assisted them. The suffer-  
ings

\* *Two previous Questions, etc.* p. 31.



ings of the Christians afforded examples of courage and constancy which seemed more than human, and had an happy effect in converting others. We have authentic accounts of many persons, in the bloom of life, and of the infirmer sex, who received the sentence of condemnation to a \* cruel death without consternation, and underwent it without a complaint, and sometimes with exultation and joy. When we read that Arria gave her husband the sword from her bleeding breast, with, *My dear, it is nothing*, we admire the deed and the speech. In the Pagan lady such resolution is heroism; in the Christian what is it less?

The persecution which the Christians endured was the completion of Christ's predictions; the fortitude with which they endured it was the completion of his promises. He bequeathed calamities and sufferings to them as a legacy, and he commanded them to die for his sake, a command hard to flesh and blood! but he promised that he would be with them, and make his abode in them, and be their strength and support, when all things else should fail and forsake them.

Many were the motives which concurred to animate the ancient Christians, motives which might sometimes produce an excess of courage bordering

x 2

upon

\* In Diocletian's persecution, the Pagans endeavoured to invent the most painful torments, to weary out the patience of the Christians, and to make them recant: and the pious Christians of later ages, who have presided over the inquisition, have imitated the Pagans in all these cruelties, and used their best endeavours to surpass them in barbarity, and perhaps studied the Acts of the Martyrs and the Ecclesiastical Historians for this purpose: though indeed Satan might inspire them without such helps.

upon rashness and enthusiasm ; but as the \* love of life and the abhorrence of pain are universal passions, there seems wanting a cause as universal to overcome them in persons of all nations, ages, sexes, and conditions, and there is none which will operate uniformly, besides a † divine assistance, none to which we may more reasonably ascribe it, as to the leading and principal cause, since it suits so well with the predictions and the promises of Christ. Some will call the doctrine of divine assistance *fanaticism* ; but let them remember that many wise Pagans held it, for they will perhaps hearken to a Platonist or a Stoic. To suppose that God takes no care of good men in the violent trials and distresses which they undergo for his sake, is entertaining a mean opinion of Providence. This divine favour was not confined to the three first centuries : it hath been extended to multitudes who since that time have fallen innocent victims to anti-christian tyranny, and have laid down their lives for their religion with as much constancy as the ancient Christians.

But it will be said, all Christian sects have had those whom they call martyrs ; and shall we bestow that honourable appellation on the schismatical, or the erroneous ? I see not how we can avoid it. If a person lays down his life for the name of Christ, or for what he takes to be the religion of Christ, when he might prolong his days by renouncing his faith, he must stand for a martyr in every reasonable man's calendar,

\* — *qui mente novissimus exit,*

*Lucis amor.*

Statius.

† Dodwell hath treated this subject very well in his *Dissertation De Fortitudine Martyrum.*

calendar, though he may have been much mistaken in some of his opinions.

*Unless Driedo had, unawares I think, acquainted me with the provost of Stenelda's Epistle to S. Bernard, I had not known either your [the church of Rome's] cruelty against the Albigenses, or Picards, as I suppose, or their constancy in suffering tortures in themselves most grievous, yet attended with usages as disgraceful; both for the manner or form of proceeding as injuriously inflicted, as the ground or matter of accusations brought against them were unjust and impious. The provost's epistle was to this effect.*

“ I would gladly be resolved (holy father) might I  
 “ enjoy your presence, whence it is that in heretics,  
 “ the devil's members, there should be so great reso-  
 “ lution for defence of their heresies, as the like can  
 “ scarce be found in very religious and faithful Chris-  
 “ tians. There are (*saieth he*) amongst us, heretics  
 “ which put no confidence in the suffrages of men  
 “ deceased, or prayers of saints: fastings and other  
 “ afflictions of the body usually undertaken for sin,  
 “ are not in their opinion necessary to the righteous:  
 “ purgatory after death they acknowledge none: de-  
 “ nying the making of our Lord's body in the sacra-  
 “ ment of the altar: the church they affirm to be  
 “ amongst them, having neither fields nor possessions.  
 “ Of such we have known divers, by the multitude,  
 “ misled with too much zeal, violently haled against  
 “ our will unto the flame; whose torments they not  
 “ only endured with patience, but entertained with  
 “ joy. I would therefore be resolved by you, holy  
 “ father, whence so great resolution in the devil's  
 “ members should spring.” *Driedo* l. iv. de Eccle-  
 “ siæ Dog. et Scrip. c. 5.

No question but this provost, which esteemed no better of them, than as of heretics or Satan's members, did relate the worst opinions then known to be held by them : and yet he, as I would have the reader note, living in their time, lays no such odious tenets to their charge, as those that lived long after, or were employed by the Romish state to write against Wickliff, Huss, or Jerome of Prague, have charged them and their followers with. Driedo tells us, he finds no direct answer by way of epistle or writing unto this venerable man's demand in particular : but out of S. Bernard's doctrine elsewhere delivered concerning like heretics, he finds this resolution, *Nihil simile habet constantia Martyrum, et pertinacia hæreticorum, quia in illis pietas, in istis duritia cordis contemptum mortis operatur*, The constancy of martyrs hath no affinity with the stubbornness of heretics ; piety breeds contempt of death in the one, hardness of heart in the other. Homil. 66. in Cant. Such good-minded men as S. Bernard, I think, had least to do in the examination of such men, most obnoxious to misinformation in the particulars of their carriage : with which the civil magistrates of France, though Romish Catholics, better acquainted, have given them laudable testimonies for their honest and religious lives : and whether these mentioned by that provost were such as S. Bernard spake against, in the place last cited, is more than Driedo knew. Howsoever, in matters of this nature, it is most true, Bernardus non vidit omnia. T. Jackson's Works, vol. i. p. 278.

Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, a considerable man in the Arian, or rather in the Semi-Arian party, endured cruel torments from the irritated Pagans with astonishing bravery ; and (besides Sozomen) Theodoret,  
and



and Gregory Nazianzen, though \* Athanasian Bishops, have highly extolled him for it. He had escaped by flight; but hearing that many Christians were in danger of suffering upon his account, he returned and surrendered himself, to deliver his brethren.

Tillemont's distress on the constancy of this heretic is remarkable, and his diffidence well expressed. "This is what St Gregory, Theodoret, and Sozomen have related concerning the fortitude of Mark of Arethusa. The fact is too well supported to admit of a doubt: but it is no small difficulty to know whether this fortitude was a virtue purely human, like that of the Reguli, the Scævolæ, and other heroes of Paganism, which in reality was only an effect of their pride; or whether it was a Christian virtue, a gift of the grace of our Lord, and an operation of that charity which maketh saints. For the foundation of true virtue is true faith, without which it is impossible to please God, as likewise it is impossible that true virtue should not please him. And history represents to us every where this prelate as engaged in the belief, in the faction, and in the intrigues of the Arians." *H. Eccl. vii.* 370. See also in p. 726. the distress of Tillemont, Baronius,

\* Chalcidius, a Christian philosopher, who did not admit the creation of matter, was an intimate friend of Hosius of Corduba. Bishops of learning, genius, and abilities (and such Hosius certainly was) did not quarrel with their friends for holding sentiments which caused heretics to be condemned with so much rigour, and to be loaded with so many calumnies. All bishops did not resemble Father Epiphanius. But perhaps they were more tractable in civil and familiar commerce and conversation, than in councils, where moderation was hardly ever known, after that of the apostles. *Beausobre Hist. de Manich. ii.* 238.

Baronius, and Bollandus on this grievous difficulty. They know not where to place Mark of Arethusa, whether among the *Saints*, or among the *Sinners*, or in the *Intermundia* of the *Epicurean gods*.

Mark had demolished a pagan temple, in the reign of Constantius, and had built a church over its ruins, in doing which he seems to have shewed more zeal than prudence: but this part of his conduct gives no pain to the Tillemonts and the Baroniuses. The best excuse that can be made for him is, that he had the permission of the emperor for acting as he did, though even that excuse is scarcely satisfactory.

Paul and Silas were severely beaten with rods, and then cast into a dungeon, and put in the stocks, which was a painful posture. At midnight, when such wounds and torments give the most uneasiness, instead of uttering sighs and groans, instead of praying to God to relieve them they sang praises to him with a loud voice, *Acts* xvi. 22. Hence we conclude that they were assisted by God, who alleviated their pain, and gave them not only resignation and patience, but exultation and joy. When a martyr suffers greater torments than these for the same cause, and shews the same undaunted and cheerful spirit, is it not just to suppose that he receives the same assistances? The behaviour of the man, the honour of religion, the promise of Christ, the goodness of God, all lead us to this determination.

The far greater part of the Martyrologies \* is indeed so silly and contemptible as to be beneath all notice  
and

\* *Plaustra mendaciorum* is the properest name for most of them. See some conjectures concerning the pious lies in the Legends, in Bayle's Dict. VALERIUS.

and censure ; and of those which are of a better stamp, some seem to have been drawn up by persons, who, through excessive veneration of the departed saints, and a love of the marvellous, or other motives, have inserted false embellishments, and then the transcribers have made interpolations of the same kind. The authors of pious frauds are foolish knaves, who do irreparable mischief to the cause which they want to recommend.

The copies which we have of the ancient *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* differ considerably. See Tillemont, *H. E.* iii. 137. and Basnage *Ann.* ii. p. 224. “ The African style of these acts shews their antiquity, “ and they relate what Perpetua suffered in prison, “ and some of her dreams, written, if we may believe “ the author of the acts, by herself, and also a dream “ of Saturus, who suffered at the same time. In the “ dream of Perpetua we see some beginnings of the “ opinion of purgatory, and of praying for those who “ are in it, as the commentators have not failed to observe. The question is, whether they are really the “ words of *Perpetua*, of which it is impossible to be “ certain, These notions might indeed have been in “ some measure introduced amongst the common “ people, and Perpetua might have had a dream conformable to such current notions : but nothing “ obliges us to believe that all the dreams of martyrs “ were revelations, or that this in particular was of “ that kind.” *Le Clerc Bibl. Chois.* xxvi. 220.

The behaviour of the martyrs related in those acts, as it is circumstantial and probable, so is it affecting and edifying ; but their visions and revelations seem to be partly of the enthusiastic kind, and such as might be expected from the disciples of Montanus. Perhaps

haps the writer, who is supposed by many to have been a Montanist, and the transcribers, enlarged and adulterated that part of the account, either to propagate some favourite notions of their own, or to omit nothing that they had gathered from rumour and common report. This I am inclined to suppose, in respect and reverence for these holy martyrs ; but what we much wish, we easily believe, and that perhaps may be my case.

In some of the ancient acts of the martyrs, and in ecclesiastical historians, we have well attested examples of heroic faith and fortitude, and of love stronger than death, which would affect even the coldest heart, and which Joseph Scaliger, a man of good taste, a clear judgment, and no superstition, could never read without being greatly moved. *Eorum lectione piorum animus ita afficitur, ut nunquam satur inde recedat : quod quidem ita esse, unusquisque pro captu suo et conscientiae modo sentire potest. Certe ego nihil unquam in Historia Ecclesiastica vidi, a cujus lectione commotior recedam, ut non amplius meus esse videar.* Anim. in Euseb. p. 121.

Justin Martyr, whilst he was a pagan, concluded very candidly and reasonably, from the courage and constancy of the persecuted Christians, that they could not be profligate and debauched people ; and his Pagan and Platonic judgment on this point was better than the ecclesiastical judgment of several Christian writers. Καὶ ὃ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασι, διαβαλλομένους ἀκῶν Χριστιανούς, ὁρῶν δὲ ἀφόβους πρὸς θάνατον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνενόουν ἀδυνασίαν εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς. *Nam et ego ipse, cum Platonis disciplina delectarer, audiremque criminationes quae in Christianos jactabantur, mortem autem, caeteraque omnia quae*



*quæ terribilia putantur, minime eos formidare viderem, statui ipse necum fieri haudquaquam posse, ut in vitiorum pravitate et voluptatum amore viverent.* Apol. 11.

The Christians, that is, the wise and prudent part of them, were of opinion, that as it was their duty to suffer any torments rather than dissemble or deny their religion, so was it also to avoid persecution, and never to expose themselves uncalled to so hard a trial. Mention is made in the epistle of the church of Smyrna, and in other ancient records, of some rash and presumptuous Christians, who offered themselves to martyrdom, and who, when they were condemned, lost all courage and deserted their cause; whilst others, who had been diffident of themselves, and had retired, being discovered and seized, died in a most Christian manner. This also was perfectly suitable to our Saviour's doctrine and promises, who required humility and prudence from his disciples. Peter made bolder professions of fortitude and fidelity than any of the apostles, and therefore he alone fell away in the dark hour of temptation, and denied his master.

This wonderful behaviour of the ancient Christians may justly be accounted a proof of the truth of our religion, and we should deserve to be blamed and despised if we parted with it, and gave it up tamely upon account of a few objections. Objections may be made even to demonstrations, and

*Nihil est tam bonum, quin dicendo malum effici possit.*

The increase of Christianity under all these discouragements, and this cloud of afflictions is another argument of the same kind, and a subject highly worthy of consideration: *Adeone levis res et futilis videtur Religio Christiana, aut tam vulgaris tamque similis rerum quotidianarum progressio ejus et propagatio, ut quævis ho-*  
*minem*

*minem (non jam Christianum dico, sed vel ab omni religione alienum, vel ab ea alienissimum) exquirere pudeat quales homines essent, qua doctrina, quo ingenio, qua disputandi scientia, qua facultate dicendi instructi, qui gravibus illis et constantibus Romanis persuadere potuerint, relictis et repudiatis Diis suis, quos se nunquam aut impune neglexisse, aut frustra gravissimis reipublice temporibus invocasse majores omnibus monumentis proclamabant et testabantur, hominum et barbarorum et a se devictorum et Judeorum deum, hominemque simul Judeum a popularibus suis paulo ante servili supplicio necatum, venerari; qui tot tamque disparces nationes, alias immanitate effertas, alias moribus et disciplina inflatas, alias horrida quadam et agresti virtute feroces, alias luxu et licentia petulantes, alias victoriis et imperio insolentes, alias diuturna servitute fractas et debilitatas, alias ignorantia et tarditate, alias doctrinæ et ingenii fama indociles, ita flexerint et mutaverint, ut religioni patrice novam et externam, ut omni licentie libertatique vivendi (quicum prioribus fere religionibus summa pax et concordia fuit) vitam rigidam et severam et omnia voluptatis vel confinia anxie fugientem, virtutesque quarum ne nomina quidem antea audierant, ut denique paupertatem divitiis, odium gratie, contemtionem honori, exilium patrie, mortem vitæ anteferrent.*

Thirlby, *Dedic. Just. M.* These reflections are as just as they are elegant, and the inference which the reader ought to make from them is, that a change, so happy, so extensive, and so surprising, could have been effected by nothing less than the divine will and assistance.

*The progress of Christianity, says Moyle, considering its late rise, and the constant opposition it met with, is even, on my moderate computation, prodigious, and to be accounted for by nothing but the divine providence, as I*

*may*

*may one day shew at large on another occasion.* Thunder. Legion, p. 327.

The alteration also which Christianity made in the manners of men, and the stop which it put to polygamy, is very remarkable. Οὔτε οἱ ἐν Παρθία Χριστιανοὶ πολυγαμίᾳ Πάρθοι ὑπάρχοντες, — ἔχ οἱ ἐν Περσίδι γαμίᾳ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν, Πέρσαι ὄντες· ἢ παρὰ Βάκτροις ἢ Γάλλοις φθείρουσι τὰς γάμους: — ἀλλ' ὅπως εἰσὶν, ὅτε ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶς κειμένων νόμων ἢ ἐθῶν νικῶνται. *Nec in Parthia Christiani, Parthi licet, pluribus utuntur uxoribus, nec in Perside, Persæ licet, filias uxores ducunt, nec apud Bactros aut Gallos nuptiarum honestatem et jura contaminant, — Ita ubicumque degunt, nec legum morumque sceleratorum improbitate vincuntur.* Bardenes, *apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.* vi. 10. in his discourse against astrological fate. Thus, according to this ingenious philosopher, the Christians of all countries retained the good qualities, and rejected the reigning vices of the several nations of which they were natives.

“ The law which permits only one wife, is conform-  
 “ able to the nature of the European, but not to the  
 “ nature of the Asiatic climate. It is for this reason  
 “ that Mohammedism found so easy an admission in  
 “ Asia, and such difficulty to extend itself in Europe;  
 “ that Christianity hath maintained itself in Europe,  
 “ and hath been destroyed in Asia; and that the Mo-  
 “ hammedans have made so much, and the Christians  
 “ so little progress in China.

“ In the time of Justinian, many philosophers, un-  
 “ easy at the restraint laid upon them by Christian  
 “ laws, retired into Persia, to Chosroës. What in-  
 “ duced them most, says Agathias, was, that poly-  
 “ gamy was there permitted to men who did not ab-  
 “ stain even from adultery.

“ It

“ It is hardly possible that Christianity should ever  
 “ be established in China. Vows of virginity, the  
 “ assembling of women in churches, their necessary  
 “ intercourse with the ministers of religion, their par-  
 “ ticipation of the sacraments, auricular confession,  
 “ extreme unction, the marrying but one wife, all this  
 “ oversets the manners and customs, and strikes at the  
 “ religion and laws of the country.” *L'Esprit des*  
*Loix*, xvi. 2. xvii. 6. xix. 18.

This acute author is of opinion that Christianity, humanly speaking, can never get footing and ground in the eastern countries, the nature of the climate, the constitution and complexion of the inhabitants, and their temper and manners and laws being repugnant to some precepts of the gospel. I ask then, How came it to pass that in the first and second centuries Christianity found admission and made a progress in those countries, notwithstanding these, and many other difficulties and impediments besides these? Must we not ascribe its success either to miracles wrought in its behalf, or to an extraordinary influence of the Spirit of God upon the minds of those who embraced it? See *Discourse iii. on the Christ. Religion*.

About A. D. 150. flourished Justin, the first Christian author, after those who are called apostolical, a virtuous, pious, honest man, and incapable of wilfully deceiving, but a hasty writer, and of a warm and credulous temper. He was highly and justly esteemed by the ancient Christians, and Eusebius makes honourable mention of him, as of one ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς διατρέψας λόγῳ, *qui inter religionis nostræ sectatores maxime floruit*, and he speaks of his two apologies, his dialogue with Trypho, and some other treatises, and produces



produces some passages from that dialogue, which shew that he had it as we have it now.

He wanted neither learning, nor vivacity, nor an unartificial eloquence. The love of truth was his predominant passion, to which he sacrificed all worldly considerations, and for which he laid down his life with great resolution ; and therefore whosoever loves truth, should love him and his memory. “ *Galen,*” (says our amiable writer, John Hales) “ *Galen, that great physician speaks thus of himself: I know not how, even from my youth up, in a wonderful manner, whether by divine inspiration, or by fury and possession, or however you may please to style it, I have much contemned the opinion of the many ; but truth and knowledge I have above measure affected, verily persuading myself that a fairer, a more divine fortune could never befall a man. Some little claim I may justly lay to the words of this excellent person ; for the pursuit of truth hath been my only care, ever since I understood the meaning of the word. For this I have forsaken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all that I have.—If with all this cost and pains my purchase is but error, I may safely say, To err hath cost me more than it has many to find the truth : and truth shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune.*”

Justin would not perhaps have expressed himself upon this subject with the same strength and elegance ; but he had the same heart, and the same turn of mind.

In the first apology, he says to the emperors, *We desire a fair trial, and no favour : if we are guilty, punish us ; if we are innocent, protect us. We do not desire you to punish our calumniators ; their own wickedness and ignorance is punishment enough.* Οὐ γὰρ τὰς κατηγορούντας κολάζειν ὑμᾶς ἀξιόσομεν· ἀρχῶνται γὰρ τῇ προσέσῃ πονηρίᾳ, καὶ τῇ τῶν καλῶν ἀγνοίᾳ. Cicero had a thought of the same kind, but he spoiled it : he says somewhere, *Odi hominem, et odo.* *Utinam ulcisci possem ; sed ulciscuntur illum moris sui.*

*We are slain with the sword, says Justin, we are crucified, we are cast to the wild beasts, we are bound with chains, tortured and burnt ; and yet we are not only constant to our profession, but we increase and multiply : the more we are persecuted and destroyed, the more are added to our numbers. As a vine by being pruned and cut close, puts forth new shoots, and bears a greater abundance of fruit, so is it with us who are the vine which God and his Christ have planted.* Ὅποιον ἐὰν ἀμπελὺς τις ἐκτέμῃ τὰ καρποφορήσαντα μέρη, εἰς τὸ ἀναβλαστῆσαι ἑτέρας κλάδους καὶ εὐθαλεῖς καὶ καρποφόρους ἀναδίδωσι· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι ἢ γὰρ φυτευθεῖτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀμπελος, καὶ σωτήριος Χριστῷ, ὁ λαὸς αὐτῷ ἐστίν.

Horace :

*Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,  
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,  
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso  
Ducit opes animumque ferro.*

The account which Justin gives of himself, as seeking truth among the Philosophers, the Stoics, the Peripatetics, Pythagoreans, and Platonics, and finding it in Christianity, is spritely and entertaining, and so is the manner in which he censures the Jews. *It was foretold of you,* says he to Trypho, *that you should be as the sand of the sea-shore ; and so indeed you are,*  
if

*if as numerous, as barren likewise, and as unfruitful of all that is good, ever ready to receive the refreshing dews and rain of heaven, and never willing and disposed to make any return.* p. 394. Ed. Thirl.

I shall not undertake the vindication of Justin concerning the celebrated statue erected to Simon Magus: I am inclined to think that he was mistaken, and that the proud Romans would never have deified a Samaritan knave, and a strolling magician. It seems more probable that they would have sent him to the house of correction, or have bestowed transportation upon him, or a \* *stone-doublet* sooner than a statue. Dr Thirlby, who pleads Justin's cause, concludes thus: *Si quis autem quærat quid de hac re ipse sentiam, patroni me potius quam judicis partes egisse, negare non possum, quæque dixi, non tam veritatis gratia, quam Justinus dixisse, cujus mihi cum editione defensio ex veteri more necessario suscipienda erat, &c.* It is easy enough to know what this means, though some persons have made a shift to misunderstand it.

In behalf of Justin it might be said, that as worthless men as Simon had religious respect paid to them about the time when Justin wrote, or not long after. Alexander (the impostor perhaps, and false prophet) and Peregrinus, called Proteus, another knave, both of whom Lucian has satyrically celebrated, and of whom the latter burnt himself publicly, and one Neryllinus, an obscure mortal, had statues erected to them at Troas and Parium in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and when Neryllinus was living; to which statues divine honours were paid, and which were said to give oracles, and to work miracles. So cheap was deification in those days! This we learn from Athenagoras. Τρωὰς ἔ Παρίον· ἡ μὲν Νερυλλίνου εἰκόνας ἔχει, ὃς ἀνὴρ τῶν

καθ' ἡμᾶς. τὸ δὲ Πάριον, Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Πρωτέως. Τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὁ τάφος, καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν. Οἱ μὲν ἔν ἄλλοι ἀνδριάντες τῷ Νηρυλλίνῳ, κόσμημά εἰσι δημόσιον—εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρηματίζειν καὶ ἰᾶσθαι νοσῶντας νομίζονται καὶ δύσσι τε δι' αὐτὰ, καὶ χρυσῷ περιαλείφουσι, καὶ σεφανῶσι τὸν ἀνδριάντα, οἱ Τρωαδεῖς· ὁ δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ ὁ τῷ Πρωτέως—ὁ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεται χρηματίζειν· τῷ δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ—δημοελεῖς ἀγοῇσι δύσσαι καὶ ἰορταί, ὡς ἐπηκώω θεῷ. *Troas et Parium. Habet enim illa imagines Neryllini, viri qui nostro seculo vixit: Parium vero, Alexandri et Protei. Alexandri quidem etiamnum in foro et sepulcrum et simulacrum est. Porro Neryllini cæteræ quidem statuæ ornatus sunt publicus,—una vero ex illis tum consulentibus respondere, tum medicari dicitur. Quamobrem et sacra ei faciunt, et auro illinunt, et coronant statuam Troadenses. Protei vero statua—similiter responsa dare perhibetur. Alexandri vero statuæ—sacrificia publice et festa peragunt, tanquam propitio et exaudienti Deo.* p. 122. Ed. Ox.

Epiphanes, the son of the heretic Carpocrates, and a heretic as well as his father, was deified about the middle of the second century, or the time when Justin wrote. The account is remarkable: Ἐπιφανῆς, ὃς καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα νομίζεται, ὃς ἦν Καρποκράτης—τὰ μὲν πρὸς πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἀπὸ δὲ μητρὸς Κεφαλληνεύς· ἔζησε δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔτι ἐπὶ ἑκατάδεκα, καὶ Θεὸς ἐν Σάμῃ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας τετίμηται· ἐνθα αὐτῷ ἱερὸν ρυτῶν λίθων, βωμοὶ, τεμένη, μυσεῖον ὠκοδόμηται τε καὶ καθιέρωται καὶ συνιόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ Κεφαλλῆνες κατὰ νεμνίαν, γενέθλιον ἀποθέωσιν δύσιν Ἐπιφάνει· σπένδουσιν τε καὶ εὐώχῃναι, καὶ ὕμνοι λέγονται. *Epiphanes, cujus etiam scripta feruntur, filius erat Carpocratis,—ex patre quidem Alexandrinus, ex matre vero Cephalleneus. Vixit autem solum septendecim annis, et Samæ, quæ est urbs Cephallenice, ut Deus est honore affectus. Quo in loco templum ex ingentibus lapidibus, altaria, delubra, museum, cædificatum est et consecratum:*

et



*et cum est nova Luna, convenientes Cephallenei, diem natalem, quo in Deos relatus est Epiphanes, sacrificant, libantque et convivantur, et hymnos canunt.* Clemens Alex. Strom. iii. p. 511.

Here is the canonization, or apotheosis of a young heretic performed in an exact and ample manner by these Cephallenean blockheads. Now Simon, it may be said, might have acquired such honours as easily as Epiphanes, who tho' he was ingenious, was but a boy.

If any one thinks that these examples tend to support Justin, they are at his service. Dr Thirlby; when I once mentioned them to him, thought them observable; and fit to be produced on this subject.

We have the Acts of Justin's martyrdom, which seem in the main to be genuine; and to contain a true narration of his courageous behaviour, and of his sufferings:

Without detracting from the merits of this worthy man, we ought to acknowledge, what truth and plain matter of fact extort from us, that he, and the rest of the fathers; are often poor and insufficient guides in things of judgment and criticism, and in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and sometimes in points of morality also and of doctrine, as Daillé, Whitby, Barbeyrac, and others have fully shewed. The men themselves usually deserve much respect, and their writings are highly useful \* on several accounts; but it is better to defer too little, than too much, to their decisions, and to the authority of *antiquity*, that *handmaid to Scripture*, as she is called. She is like *Briareus*,

Y 2

\* The learned defender of Dr Chapman's charge hath pointed out their utility, p. 40. &c.

*reus*, and has *a hundred hands*, and these hands often clash, and beat one another.

The genuineness of Justin's Dialogue hath been called in question by Christianus Gotlieb Kochius, Gothofredus Wagnerus, and I know not who, whose names, if Fabricius and Thirlby had not preserved them from oblivion, would have been lost long ago. Father Harduin also, though for a time he thought fit to spare this valuable treatise, yet afterwards, I think, did it the honour to reject it, along with the rest of Justin's works; which is one argument and not a bad one, in its favour.

About A. D. 146. Hegesippus wrote an ecclesiastical history. He was a weak and a credulous man, much such another as Papias. He gives us a history of the martyrdom of James, bishop of Jerusalem, which is no better than a legend, and which Eusebius should not have related, without adding, as he has on some other occasions, *Of this let every one judge as he thinks proper.*

Towards A. D. 170. arose the sect of the Encratites, followers of Tatian, Justin's disciple. *Eusebius* iv. 29. They condemned marriage, wine, and animal food. Others before them had held the same doctrines, doctrines expressly foretold and condemned by St Paul, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1. But before the fourth century was ended, these and other corruptions were widely spread, or at least the foundation of them was laid, in superstitious and injudicious mortifications, monkery, lying wonders, feigned apparitions, excessive honours paid to departed saints, and to their reliques, &c. as Jos. Mede intimates, and Sir Is. Newton and others have sufficiently shewed.

In

In the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, Alcibiades and Attalus suffered death. Alcibiades was one who abstained from all food, except bread and water. It was revealed to Attalus, whilst they were in prison, that his companion did wrong, and set a bad example, in refusing to make use of God's creatures; upon which Alcibiades obeyed, and ate of such things as were set before him. Eusebius relates this v. 3. and took it from an epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne in Gaul. They who defend the fasts and abstinencies of the ancient monks, may try how they can reconcile these things together.

When Marcus Aurelius was at war with the *Quadi*, A. D. 174. and in the utmost distress and danger, his army was relieved by a plentiful shower of rain, together with hail, thunder, and lightning, which so incommoded his enemies, that the elements seemed to fight for him. The fact is attested by many writers, Pagan and Christian, and by the *Columaa Antoniniana*, where is represented the figure of *Jupiter Pluvius*. The Pagans ascribed it to the incantations of some magician, or to the virtues of the emperor, and the Christians to the prayers of the Christian soldiers.

This produced a *silly story* of the *Thundering Legion*, and a *forged letter* of the emperor in favour of the Christians, all which agrees not with the persecution which they endured under him and his colleague Lucius Verus. Observe that Eusebius v. 5. after producing his vouchers, concludes his narration of the story thus; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη τις ἐθέλῃ τιθεσθαι, *but of this let every one judge as he thinks fit*. We are obliged to him for giving us leave to reject it. See Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 744. and Moyle's *Dissertation*. Moyle concludes, with wishing no other harm to



the believers of the *thundering legion*, than that they may also believe the martyrdom of the *Thebean Legion* : to which good wish I say, with LE CLERC, AMEN.\*

*Qui Bavium non odit, &c.*

There is a stupid and ridiculous *epistle* of the emperor Marcus still extant, and of a modern date, which is given up even by Tillemont, who is seldom disposed to make such concessions, and, I believe, by every one else, who knows any thing of those matters, one person excepted. We have also an *epistle* of the same stamp ascribed to Antoninus Pius, which was forged by some Christian before the days of Eusebius, and which Thirlby rejects, and the last editor of Justin defends in his Preface, and observes, *Tantus est decreti Imperatoris cum Justinii Apologia consensus, ut in sententiam S. Martyris constructum videatur*. p. lxxx. The observation concerning the *consensus* is very true ; but who would warrant the inference ? The forger of the *epistle* must have been a poor wretch indeed, if he could not take care that the emperor's answer should favour the petition of Justin. *Mihi fateor suspectum esse hoc edictum, magisque ad mentem Christianorum esse conceptum quam illud concepturus fuerit Gentilis Imperator*. Dodwell *Diss.* xi. 257.

As to the Emperor Marcus, with all his amiable and princely qualities, he did not love the Christians, as appears from unquestionable authority, even from *his own book*. The Philosophers had probably contributed to set him against them, and his love of philosophy and the respect which he paid to its professors were excessive, and indeed sometimes ridiculous. *A Greek orator met him once in the street, and asked him*  
*where*



where he was going. A man, replied Marcus, is never too old to learn; I am going to Sextus the philosopher, to be instructed by him. O sun, said the Orator, lifting up his hands, a Roman emperor, in his old age, trudges with his book, like a school-boy, to his master's house, to learn his lesson! The Orator might well wonder to see him act so out of character, and more like a pedant than a prince. *Suidas, et Philostr. Vit. Sophist. l. ii. 556.*

We are told that Marcus Aurelius, without repealing the old laws which condemned convicted Christians, made an *edict*, that whosoever accused a Christian should be put to death; and that about ten years after, under his son Commodus, who yet was favourable to the Christians, one Apollonius, a man of eminence, being publicly accused of Christianity by a slave (as Jerom says) the delator had his legs broken for his information, and was executed; and that Apollonius, persisting in his religion, was condemned by the senate. Tertullian *Apol.* Eusebius v. 5. 21. Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 786. Strange! that so wise a prince as Marcus Aurelius should make so absurd an *edict*, \* who might have made a reasonable one in four words, *NOLUMVS CHRISTIANOS AMPLIVS VEXARI.* Had he not so much interest with the senators as to gain their consent? That is not to be supposed of an emperor so much beloved by his subjects. And if he could not have gained it for this reasonable decree, † neither could he have gained it for the other, which,

\* The forger of this story had his head full of *the Book of Esther*, and of *the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not*, and imagined that the only way by which the emperor could protect the Christians was to punish their accusers.

† Gallienus, being favourably disposed towards the Christians, gave a Rescript which without these absurdities secured them in

which, such as it was, would have been very serviceable to the Christians.

It is also strange that the informer, knowing the certain death to which he exposed himself, should venture on such a mad and desperate attempt. There must be some mistake in this confused and unaccountable representation.

Shall we then reject the whole story of the martyrdom of Apollonius? We need not go so far: we may rather suppose that as the Romans under bad emperors had suffered intolerably from the base villany and perjuries of *informers*, and had the whole *crew* \* in abomination; and as there had been edicts made against *delators* by Titus, Nerva, and Trajan; the persons then in authority might strain a point to cut off this obscure and detested villain, and yet might not be willing to spare Apollonius after he had been publicly accused; for the senate in general was never favourable to Christianity, and therefore some emperors, who were not void of good qualities, oppressed the Christians, to gain the esteem of that body, and to pass for zealous defenders of the Roman laws and customs.

The senate might condemn Apollonius by Trajan's *rescript* to Pliny, and yet not care to encourage informations. If Apollonius was accused by his own slave, the slave, I think, by the Roman laws, was liable to be

some measure from persecution. *Euseb.* vii. 13. Could not Marcus have done as much, if he had been so minded?

\* Tacitus hated them heartily, and calls them, *genus hominum publico exitio repertum, et pœnis nunquam satis coercitum*. The younger Pliny was of the same mind—but men of honour have ever agreed in disliking and shunning such vermin, tho' men of power have sometimes been fond of them. See Cicero *Orat. pro Roscio*, 20.

be put to death. Cod. L. x. Tit. xi. and the notes. The emperor Tacitus afterwards ordered, that slaves should not bear witness against their masters, even in crimes of high treason. *In eadem oratione cavit ut servi in dominorum capita non interrogarentur, ne in causa majestatis quidem.* Vopiscus Tacito, p. 608.

Trajan forbid the Christians to be sought after, that is, he testified his dislike of it, but he made no law against the accusers of Christians, and subjected them to no penalties.

When Cyprian was brought to his trial before the proconsul of Afric, that magistrate asked him to give him the names of the presbyters of Carthage. Cyprian replied that he would not discover them, and that even the civil laws justly condemned delators. *Act. Cypr.*

The death of Apollonius is a proof that the *epistles* which we have of Antoninus Pius and of Marcus Aurelius, which expressly forbid Christians to be put to death for their religion, were forgeries; for the rescripts of emperors, unless repealed, were in some measure Roman laws. *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem.* Instit. i. Tit. ii. See Schulting, *Dissert. pro Rescriptis.*

In the time of Marcus Aurelius lived Lucian and Apuleius. Lucian was partly a sceptic, partly an epicurean, \* an elegant, ingenious, loose, and immodest writer. It is no wonder that he did not like Christianity; yet he hath said so much, in the way of ridicule, against superstition, and the worship of the gods, and the sophistry of the philosophers, that he may possibly be considered in that respect, as a  
kind

\* He praises and extols Epicurus in his *Alexander*.

kind of apologist, who contributed, though undesignedly, to the advancement of religion, if it be allowed that,

*Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima  
Stultitia caruisse.*

The notion that he was an apostate from Christianity is groundless. See the life of Lucian by Retizius. Bourdelotius on this occasion, says, *Qui mendaciis suis invicem credunt, Christianum fuisse arbitrantur, suppositiorum pravitate decepti.* Sawcy enough! *Qui mendaciis suis invicem credunt*, is taken from Minucius Felix, and is the character which the pagan in the dialogue bestows upon *all the Christians* in general.

Apuleius passed for a philosopher and a magician. The first of these characters he desired and deserved; the second he loudly disclaimed. Some pagans after his time were so very silly as to oppose to the miracles of Christ those of Apuleius, of which there was not one upon record. *Bayle's Dict.* APULEIUS.

Augustine seems to have had a small doubt whether Apuleius was really transmographed into an ass. If he had lived in the days of Apuleius and had said so, the philosopher would have returned the compliment upon him. *Apuleius in Libris, quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno, humano animo permanente, asinus fieret, aut indicavit, aut finxit. Hæc vel falsa sunt, vel tam inusitata, ut merito non credantur.* De Civ. Dei, xviii. 18. But in the time of Augustine some Christian miracles were related by himself, and received by the populace, which for improbability were not at all inferior to the transformation of Apuleius.

The elegant story of *Cupid and Psyche* in Apuleius



is undoubtedly mystical and allegorical\*. Porphyry wrote a poem, which is lost, called ὁ ἱερὸς γάμος, *the Sacred Nuptials*, by which I suppose was meant the mysterious union of the soul with the Deity: and the enthusiastic sublimity of the poem made some readers conclude that the author was mad; but Plotinus, who was an adept, greatly admired it. Holstenius, *Vit. Porph.* c. 10.

Irenæus, speaking of the initiations and mysteries of some old heretics, says, Οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νυμφῶνα καὶ αὐγαζοῦσι—καὶ πνευματικὸν γάμον φάσκουσιν εἶναι τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενον, κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄνω συζυγιῶν. *Quidam eorum thalamum nuptialem construunt—easque spirituales nuptias esse affirmant, ad formam et exemplum cælestium conjugierum.* Vid. *Euseb. H. E.* iv. 11. Here also were *spiritual and mystical nuptials*†; and perhaps *something more*. Enthusiasts and pious mystics have been remarkably fond of *the nuptial style*, and of applying *verba nupta* to godly subjects.

The philosophers about and after the time of Apuleius, had genius and learning, with a dash of fanaticism‡. They were dealers in *Theurgy*, or the evocation of inferior gods, and boasted of an intercourse with dæmons, and an union with God. Many ancient

\* Concerning the Metamorphosis and the Apology of Apuleius, see Mr Warburton *Div. Legat.* vol. ii.

† If Irenæus was not misinformed: for the accounts which the Fathers have given of heretics are not to be entirely trusted.

‡ Il est surprenant que ces Mystiques Chrétiens, et ces Philosophes Payens, ayent été si conformes les uns aux autres, qu'on dirait qu'ils s'étoient donné le mot pour débiter les mêmes folies les uns dans l'orient et les autres dans l'occident. Quel concert admirable entre des gens qui ne s'étoient jamais vus, et qui n'avoient jamais parlé les uns des autres! *Bayle Dict.* TAULERUS. See the passage and the references.

cient Christian writers have spoken handsomely of Porphyry, and have done justice to his abilities, tho' he was an enemy; which at the same time was doing honour to themselves. Porphyry, as far as we may guess from a passage in Jerom, said, that the miracles, which the Christians were reported to work, were the tricks of evil dæmons. Vigilantius, at the end of the fourth century, had condemned the excessive honours paid to the reliques of the saints, for which Jerom reviles him, and says, *Spiritus iste immundus, qui te hæc cogit scribere, sæpe hoc vilissimo tortus est pulvere, imo hodieque torquetur, et qui in te plagas dissimulat, in cæteris confitetur; nisi forte in morem Gentilium, impiorumque, Porphyrii Eunomique, has præstigias Dæmonum esse confingas, et non vere clamare Dæmones, sed sua simulare tormenta.* Contra Vigil.

As we find not in ecclesiastical history that any evil befel Vigilantius, we may conclude that this honest man was gathered to his fathers in peace. If so, he was a fortunate person, for one who set his face against the public, and to be excepted from the number of those, who *by following truth too close at the heels, have had their teeth knocked out for their pains.* A politician would have whispered to him, *Hold your opinion, but hold your tongue.* He came off very well, if he suffered no greater harm than to be called, *Fool, Blockhead, Madman, Dæmoniac, Lunatic, Heretic, Arian, Eunomian, Samaritan, Jew, Pagan, Infidel, Apostate, Blasphemer, Calumniator, Despiser of Martyrs, Bishops, and Emperors, Glutton, Sot, Liar, Ass, and Dog.*

Porphyry made some concessions in favour of Christianity, and acknowledged that the dæmons had revered Christ. Holstenius *de Vit. Porphyrii*, c. 11. or Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* p. 134. This philosopher  
was

was born A. D. 233. and died about A. D. 303. Constantine ordered his writings against Christianity to be suppressed, in which he was ill advised. *Si nihil est nostra religione verius, quid rationes reformidamus?* said Ludovicus Vives.

Plotinus, as Porphyry relates, desired the Emperor Gallienus to rebuild a ruined city in Campania, and to give it to the philosophers, proposing to dwell there himself with his disciples, and to establish Plato's republic. But though he was much in the emperor's favour, his project met with opposition at court, and came to nothing. *Thus philosophy, though patronized by princes, could never in any age introduce its rules even into one city, and Jesus Christ hath established his all over the world, in spite of all worldly opposition from the great and the learned.* Tillemont H. E. iii. p. 268.

A republic of *modern deists* and *moral philosophers* would be as great a curiosity as this *city of philosophers* would have been, but perhaps not quite so well regulated. Plotinus, if he could have compassed his design, would probably have found it necessary to alter at least one part of the plan in Plato's republic, and to exclude the *community of wives* which that philosopher had a fancy to establish.

The city of Smyrna being overthrown by an earthquake, Marcus Aurelius shewed great kindness to the inhabitants, and liberally assisted them in repairing the loss. Aristides the Sophist had the honour to be instrumental in this by writing to the emperor in behalf of the sufferers.

“ Aristides, in a discourse which he addresses to  
 “ the people of Smyrna to congratulate their re-esta-  
 “ blishment, says, that their calamity had been de-  
 “ plored by all the inhabitants of Greece and Asia,  
 “ as a distress common to them all; that every one  
 “ had



“ had been forward to bring provisions to those who  
 “ remained in the city, and to furnish carriages,  
 “ houses, and all sorts of conveniencies to those who  
 “ were forced to quit the place, as though they had  
 “ been the parents or the children of the sufferers.  
 “ Every one offered them money, and they who had  
 “ none, promised to furnish it as soon as they were  
 “ able ; and in doing thus, each thought that he did  
 “ not bestow, but receive a favour.

“ Such was the change that Christianity had made  
 “ in the world ; for doubtless the Christians, who  
 “ were numerous in those provinces, had the best  
 “ share in these acts of charity, and by their zeal in-  
 “ flamed the Pagans also, to make the old proverb  
 “ lie, that all the world forgets and neglects the mi-  
 “ serable, which yet till then had been too true.”

*Tillemont* H. des Emp. iii. p. 391.

In the time of Marcus Aurelius lived Bardesanes, a  
 Syrian. We have a large extract from him in Eusebius  
*Præp. Ev.* vi. 11. containing arguments against fate  
 and astrology. It is a judicious and ingenious piece,  
 and it shews that this heretic was a man of consider-  
 able abilities. Eusebius esteemed him much as an  
 author, (and so did Jerom) and seems to judge can-  
 didly and charitably of him as to religion ; for he says  
 that Bardesanes fell into the Valentinian heresy, and  
 afterwards saw the folly of it, and rejected it, but could  
 not entirely shake off all his errors. *Hist. Eccl.* iv.  
 30. He was one of those who admitted two princi-  
 ples, the one good, and the other evil, and from him  
 the Manichæans borrowed some of their notions. The  
 author of the Recognitions has pillaged Bardesanes,  
 and has put his remarks and his arguments against a-  
 strological fate in the mouth of his pretended Clemens,



ix. 18. but honour and probity is not to be expected from such writers. Cave had a suspicion that Bardesanes was himself the author of the *Recognitions*. I am inclined to have a better opinion of him, and to think that he could not be the author of so many shameless lies. See an account of this philosopher, of his accomplishments, and of his errors in Beausobre, *Hist. du Manicheisme*, ii. p. 128.

In those days lived Melito, bishop of Sardes. He is thought by some to have been a prophet. Amongst many treatises which are lost, he wrote one concerning prophecy. *Euseb.* iv. 26. ἡ λόγος αὐτοῦ περὶ προφητείας, which Valesius rightly translates, *Item alius (liber) de prophetia*. But in his notes he says, *Rufinus hæc cum verbis superioribus conjunxit hoc modo: De fide et generatione Christi, et de prophetia ejus. cui tamen non assentior. Rectius Hieronymus in libro de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis hunc locum ita vertit: Item de prophetia sua librum unum. Certe Melitonem prophetam a plerisque habitum fuisse docet Tertullianus. Hieronymus in Melitone, Hujus, inquit, elegans et declamatorium ingenium laudans Tertullianus in septem libris quos scripsit adversus Ecclesiam pro Montano, dicit a plerisque nostrorum prophetam putari.*

All this amounts to little or nothing, and will not prove that Melito was a prophet. If he had made any predictions, Eusebius would have taken notice of them. As a *prophet* means sometimes only an *inspired teacher*, in that sense Melito might have been a prophet, and the ancient Christians accounted him one. Polycrates, a bishop of the second century, says of him—τὸν ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολλήν τε ἀρετήν καὶ σοφίαν ἔχοντα—*qui Spiritu sancto afflatus cuncta gessit*: and of a daughter of Philip, ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολλήν τε ἀρετήν καὶ σοφίαν ἔχοντα. *Apud Euseb.* v.

24. But these are expressions somewhat *vague*, and which admit of *more* or *less*.

Concerning this illustrious bishop and apologist, see *Disc. i. on the Christ. Relig.* p. 56.

UNDER Commodus, the Christians suffered little, and many considerable and wealthy families were converted. *Eusebius*, v. 2.

About the year 171, arose the sect of the Montanists, a sect pretending to prophecy and extraordinary illuminations, and to excessive rigour in doctrine, discipline, and practice. It consisted, as we may suppose, of some hypocrites, mixed with several enthusiasts, and Tertullian was easily drawn in to side with them. They were accused by hasty and credulous adversaries of abominations from which they were free, of killing and eating children, calumnies which only served to confirm them in their obstinacy and in their errors. This sect, though it spread itself much for a time, did some service perhaps to Christianity; for it produced in its opposers, even for the very sake and pleasure of contradiction, an antifanatical spirit, a prudence in avoiding danger when it might be lawfully shunned, a charitable disposition towards repenting sinners, a caution not to be imposed upon by impudent or frantic pretences to inspiration, and a dislike of superstitious and uncommanded austerities, though these indeed some time after overwhelmed the Christian world like a torrent.

Besides Tertullian's own vehement and rigid disposition, the ill usage which he received from the ecclesiastics of the church of Rome contributed to make him a montanist, as Jerom says, *Invidia et contumeliis Clericorum Ecclesie Romanæ ad Montani dogma delapsus*.

*sum.* De Script. Ecl. This may be true ; and it may be a mistake : for how should Jerom know Tertullian's motives ? Thus, however, he lost the title of *saint*, a title which hath been often as wretchedly bestowed as other titles and favours. Charity bids us suppose that he lost not what is infinitely more important. Several have thought too hardly concerning him, never considering that, with all his abilities, he was deficient in judgment, and had a partial disorder in his understanding, which excuses almost as much as downright frenzy. He was learned for those times, acute and ingenious, and somewhat satirical, hasty, credulous, impetuous, rigid and censorious, fanatical and enthusiastical, and a bad \* writer, as to style, not perhaps through incapacity of doing better, but through a false taste and a perverse affectation. He fell into many errors ; but it is to be hoped that, in another world, the mistakes, as well as the doubts, of poor mortals are rectified, and forgiven too, and that whosoever loves truth and virtue,

—*illic postquam se lumine vero*

*Implevit, stellasque vagas miratus et astra*

*Fixa polo, vidit quanta sub nocte jaceret*

*Nostra dies.*

But the manner in which he treated some of those heretics whom he attacks, is not to be excused.

In his books against Marcion, he declaims against the very country in which he supposed him to have been born, and calls him, by way of reproach. a *sailor*, or *water-man*, and a *Scythian*. He should have remembered, as Beausobre observes, that Peter the apos-

\* Mr de Balzac dit que l'obscurité de Tertullien, est comme la noirceur de l'ébène, qui jette un grand éclat. *Menagiana.*

tle was a fisherman, and the Scythian Anacharsis a philosopher, and that such reflections are good for nothing.

Tertullian informs us that a Christian, called Proculus, cured the Emperor Severus of some distemper with oil, for which the emperor was favourable to the Christians, and kept Proculus, as long as he lived, in the palace. *Ipsæ etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit; nam et Proculum Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodæ procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit, et in palatio suo habuit ad mortem ejus: quem et Antoninus optime noverat, lacte Christiano educatus. Ad Scap. iv.*

Was this cure miraculous?

Instead of making a direct answer to the question, we will supply the reader with some facts relating to it, which ought to be taken into consideration.

Tertullian seems to have thought the cure miraculous, for he joins it to other cures of that kind, which, as he says, were wrought by Christians. *Hæc omnia tibi et officio suggeri possunt, et ab iisdem advocatis, qui et ipsi beneficia habent Christianorum, licet adclament quæ volunt. Nam et cujusdam Notarius, cum a Dæmone præcipitaretur, liberatus est; et quorundam propinquus et puerulus. Et quanti honesti viri, de vulgariibus enim non dicimus, aut a Dæmoniis aut valetudinibus remediati sunt. Ipsæ etiam Severus, &c.*

The relation of Tertullian, as to the cure, must be admitted, since he is so circumstantial, and part of his account is confirmed by Pagan writers. See Tillemont *H. des Emp.* iii. 89. and *H. Eccl.* iii. 114. and Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* viii. 460. where it appears that there was such a man as *Euhodus*, who was *Libertus* of the Emperor Severus, and by him appointed to educate



educate his eldest son Caracalla. Proculus was steward to this *Euhodus*, or *Euhodeas*, or to *Euhodea*, who might be the daughter of *Euhodus*. Caracalla had a Christian nurse, and a Christian boy for a play-fellow, and it is probable that *Euhodus*, or *Euhodea*, was a Christian, as well as Proculus.

Tertullian and Severus were not only contemporaries, but countrymen, and Africans; and Tertullian, who seems also to have been very curious and inquisitive, might know more particularities concerning the emperor than many other people.

It had been a custom with Christians in the apostolical age to anoint the sick with oil, and to pray over them, after which I know not whether it be mentioned in the three first centuries, except this passage of Tertullian be allowed a proof of it, or the authority of the *Constitutions* be admitted in this particular: yet it is probable that the practice was continued.

Many medical uses of oil were very well known before that time, as may be seen in Pliny's *Natural History*, ii. p. 308, &c. *Ed. Hard.* and the state of physic in the days of Severus was flourishing enough, and Galen lived then and was in high esteem.

If oil had been thought proper for his distemper, Severus would probably have known it without the advice of Proculus.

The case seems to have been somewhat extraordinary and not accounted curable by oil, since Severus was so fond of the Christian who recovered him, and took him into the palace, perhaps that he might have him at hand, if he should want him for himself or his family.

Severus kept medicines by him, which he used to bestow on those who stood in need of them, and it is

said that many persons had found them beneficial in dangerous diseases and disorders. Some emperors before Severus had done the same. See Galen *de Theriaca*.

Severus was for a time very favourable to the Christians, though afterward upon some disgust he used them ill. He was haughty, cruel, stubborn, and unrelenting. He was *vere Pertinax*, *vere Severus*, as the common people used to say of him, alluding to his names. If he had been obstinately bent upon subverting Christianity, he would have proved a most terrible enemy ; but the remembrance of the service which he had received from a Christian, and the dutiful behaviour of the Christians, who had never been in arms against him, or assisted his rivals, and other motives, might have contributed to make him less violent, for if Spartian inform us right, his decree was thus : *Judeos fieri sub gravi pœna vetuit : idem etiam de Christianis sanxit* ; which might be interpreted as only prohibiting the Jews and Christians to make any more converts, and the Pagans to embrace either of those religions.

Many writers suppose that his persecution was sharp, but Dodwell \* thinks that it was not rigorous, and the writer *de Mortibus Persecutorum* passes it over in silence, as though it had not been considerable.

Thus stands the evidence, from which the reader may draw what conclusion he thinks proper.

He may also examine these points :

Was

\* In his Dissertation *De Paucitate Martyrum* ; in which, if he sometimes falls short of the truth, yet he approaches nearer to it than his antagonists, who greatly overshoot it in their notions *De Multitudine Martyrum*, and in the regard which they pay to *lying Legends*.

Was Proculus a Presbyter?

Whether he was or was not, could he anoint a *Pagan* with oil, in pursuance of the direction given by St James v. 14.?

Or was it in imitation of the common practice of the Jews, or of the disciples whom Christ sent to preach, *Mark* vi. 13.?

In the Constitutions there is a form of consecrating water and oil, in which the bishop or the presbyter prays that God would give to each of them δύναμιν ὑγείας ἱμποιήσικὴν, νόσων ἀπελαστικὴν, δαιμόνων φυγαδευτικὴν, πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς διωκτικὴν. *vim effectricem sanitatis, morborum expultricem, Daemonum fugatricem, omnium insidiarum profligatricem.* viii. 29.

In the passage of Tertullian concerning Proculus, S. Basnage for *Euhodæ* reads *Euhodi*, and for *Torpeion*, *Torpeion*, and thus explains the place, *Hæc ergo est mens Tertulliani: Cum Severus miraculum a Proculo fuisse editum, ex Euhodo per oleum sanato comperisset, hunc requisivit Proculum, quem et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem ejus.* Annal. ii. p. 201.

Thus he supposes that Proculus cured Euhodus, and not Severus; and Fleury in his *Histoire Ecclesiastique* understands it in the same manner; but this interpretation seems to do some violence to the words, and is not the most obvious sense, and *eum* is more naturally referred to the emperor. Besides, the expression *memor fuit*, and the affection and kindness which the emperor shewed to this man, make it probable that he himself had been cured by him.

In the persecution under Severus, many fled to avoid it, or gave money to redeem themselves. Tertullian, like a frantic Montanist, condemned these expedients. *De Fuga*, 5, 6. One Rutilius, distrusting his

own courage, made use of them both ; but afterwards being seized, he endured cruel torments and death with great constancy and intrepidity, leaving an excellent example of prudence and piety.

Theophilus wrote three books and addressed them to his friend Autolycus, a learned Pagan, A. D. 168. He thus disputes \* with him concerning the doctrine of the resurrection.

*Shew me, said Autolycus, even one man raised from the dead, that I may see and believe.*

Autolycus, in all probability, had no thoughts of calling in good earnest upon his friend, or upon any of the Christians, to perform such a miracle ; but like the generality of the Gentiles, accounted the future resurrection of the dead, expected by the Christians, to be an idle fancy and an utter impossibility, a hope without ground and without example, and the resurrection of Christ to be a fable ; therefore, said he, give me an instance, and shew me one man at least who hath been restored to life. Observe that this was a common argument in the mouth of the pagans. *Tanta cetas abiit*, says Cæcilius in Minucius Felix, *secula innumera*

\* Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀρνεῖσθαι σε νεκρὸς ἐγείρεσθαι φῆς ᾧ, δειξόν μοι καὶ ἓνα ἐγερθέντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἵνα ἰδὼν πεισέω. πρῶτον μὲν τί μέγα, εἰ δεασάμενος τὸ γεγονός πεισέσεις ; εἴτα πεισέεις μὲν Ἡρακλέα καύσαντα ἑαυτὸν, ζῆν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν κεραυνωθέντα ἐγνηγέρθαι. τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοι λεγόμενα ἀπίσεις ; ἴσως καὶ ἐπιδείξω σοι νεκρὸν ἐγερθέντα καὶ ζῶντα, καὶ τὸτο ἀπίσῃσεις. ὁ μὲν ἔν Θεός σοι πολλὰ τεκμήρια ἐπιδείκνυσιν εἰς τὸ πειθεῖν αὐτῷ· εἰ ᾧ βάλει, κατανόησον τὴν μὲν καιρῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν τελευτήν, πῶς καὶ αὐτὰ τελευτᾷ καὶ ἀνίσταται.—Μὴ ἔν ἀπίσει, ἀλλὰ πίστευε· καὶ ᾧ ἐγὼ ἠπίστην τὸτο ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νῦν κατανόησας αὐτὰ πεισέω, ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτυχὼν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, οἱ καὶ προεῖπον διὰ Πνεύματος Θεοῦ τὰ προγεγονότα ᾧ τρόπῳ γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐνεσῶτα τίνι τρόπῳ γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα πᾶσι τάξει ἀπαρτισθῆσεται. i. 13.



*innumera fluxerunt : quis unus ullus ab inferis vel Protesilai sorte remeavit, horarum saltem permissio com meatu, vel ut exemplo crederemus ? xi.*

So in Lactantius :—*illud reponitur, Tot jam secula transierunt : Quis unquam unus ab inferis resurrexit, ut exemplo ejus fieri posse credamus ? Div. Inst. vii. 22.*

So in Tertullian : *At enim Christianus, si de homine hominem, ipsumque de Caio Caium reducem reponittat, statim illic vesica quæritur : lapidibus magis nec saltem cæstibus a populo exigetur. Apol. c. 48.*

The general purpose of which, though some of the expressions be obscure, and perhaps corrupted, is plainly this, that if a Christian speaks of the certainty of a resurrection, he is presently treated by the Pagans as a knave, or a fool, or a madman. Speaking of a resurrection and a future judgment, he adds ; *Hæc et nos risimus aliquando. De vestris fuimus. Apol. c. 18.* Let us see what Theophilus replies.

1. *What great thing would it be, if you should give credit to what you beheld ?*

Theophilus here seems to have thought upon the words of Christ, *Because thou hast seen thou hast believed, &c.*

2. *You who are so incredulous, can yet imagine that Hercules lives, and that Æsculapius was raised after death.*

To this Autolycus would perhaps have replied, My friend, let me tell you a secret ; I believe no more of the matter than you do : but though I should think that the souls of these two heroes became gods after their death, what is that to the resurrection which you Christians expect ?

If Autolycus really believed such things, he had much more credulity than the Roman publicans. *An*

*Amphiaraus Deus erit, et Trophonius? Nostri quidem publicani, quum essent agri in Bœotia Deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria, negabant immortales esse ullos, qui aliquando homines fuissent. Cicero De Nat. Deorum, iii.*

Supposing him to have admitted popular Paganism, and rejected Christianity, Theophilus might have told him, that he *strained out a gnat, and swallowed a camel.*

3. *If you will not believe the testimony of God, I question whether you would believe, though I should shew you a person raised from the dead.*

Theophilus had in his mind, *If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, tho' one rose from the dead.*

4. *The death and resurrection of the seasons of the year, of day and night, of the sun and moon, of seeds and fruits, &c. are figures and divine indications of the resurrection which we expect.*

5. *I, who was a Pagan and an unbeliever like you, now believe a resurrection, being induced to it by the indications of it which I have mentioned, and by the prophets, whose writings shew that they were inspired of the Holy Ghost, and had the knowledge of things past, present, and future.*

Theophilus by *the prophets* meant, not only the writers of the Old, but of the New Testament, and immediately subjoins some passages taken from St Paul's epistles.

From all this it must, I think, be acknowledged that Theophilus never saw a man raised from the dead: if he had, it would have so affected him, that he could not have avoided the mentioning it, and would have urged it to his friend, whom he was desirous to confute and to convert, and who would surely have paid some degree

degree of regard to his testimony. . At least he would have mentioned it as a reason for his own belief, and a motive to himself to continue stedfast in all the doctrines of Christianity, and particularly in the doctrine of a resurrection, a reason and a motive stronger surely than the return of seasons, and the setting and rising of the sun, &c. *Soles occidere et redire possunt, &c.* Instead of saying, I myself have seen it, he talks of the small merit in believing what one beholds, and of the reasonableness of assenting to inspired men, without such overbearing evidence.

It is probable, from his silence, that he had heard of no instance of such a miracle in his days; probable, I say, but not certain: because though he had heard of it, he might possibly have thought it to no purpose to tell his friend that there were Christians who affirmed such things, and he might suspect that Autolyceus would not have admitted the testimony of persons with whom he had no acquaintance, and for whom he had little regard,

Theophilus makes no mention of any miracles, except the casting out dæmons, not even of the miracles of Christ and his apostles, which is strange; and when he speaks of curing the dæmoniacs, it is with a sort of moderation and reserve—οἱ δαιμονῶντες ἐνίοτε καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξορκίζονται—καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ πλάνα πνεύματα εἶναι δαίμονες—'This is done, says he, *sometimes, even still.*—ii. p. 87. Is that all he had to say? And yet some will have it that dæmoniacs and resurrections were as common in those days as fevers and palsies. It must be confessed, that his books are not drawn up in a manner altogether proper to convince unbelievers.

Clemens Romanus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Tatian, Minucius Felix, and others, when they treat the  
same

same subject, the doctrine of a resurrection, mention no resurrections in their days to confirm it, but Clemens mentions the resurrection of Christ.

As Theophilus was disputing with a pagan about the resurrection, he might have told him that the thing had not appeared impossible to some Pagans, and have referred him to a remarkable passage in Plato ; ἐκ τῶν τετελευτηκότων αὐτῶν, κειμένων δὲ ἐν γῇ, πάλιν ἐκεί ζυνισαίμεντες ἢ ἀναβιωσκομένους—*ex mortuis nimirum, sed terrā conditis, illos iterum tum restitutos, et in novam vitam re-stauratos.*—And again ; ἐκ γῆς δ' ἀναβιώσκοντο πάντες ἔδην μεμνημένοι τῶν πρόσθεν. *Omnes enim ex terrā rediviui nascebantur, rerum præteritarum immemores,* Polit. p. 271, 272. Plato is speaking of an *old history*, παλαιῶν μύθου. The Athenians could not be surprised at St Paul's mentioning ἀνάστασις, if they had read Plato. See the passage of Minucius cited above, and some Pagan stories of resurrections in the notes of Davies, and Grotius *de Ver. R. C.* ii. § 7, 10. and Bayle's *Dict. THEOPOMPE*, not. L.

It is certain that the most convincing proof of the resurrection which could have been offered to Autolycus, or which Autolycus could have asked, would have been to raise a dead man before his eyes : but in this kind of dialogues, real or fictitious, we are not to suppose that the Pagan always said what was most suitable, and that the Christians always replied in the most pertinent manner.

Theophilus iii, 3. says ; Τί μοι λοιπὸν κατὰλέγειν τὰ περὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἢ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἢ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλείος, Ἀθηναῖς τῆς φιλοκόλπου, ἢ Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἀναισχύντου—; *Quid jam recenscam Neptuni Apollinis, Bacchi, Herculis, Minervæ sinus amantis, Veneris pudorem projicientis facinora?* φιλοκόλπου is an epithet which ought to have been explained



plained by the editors. Theophilus means the *Ephesian Diana*, *Diana πολύμασος* who is represented with a multitude of breasts one above another, and makes an ugly figure, more like a she-devil than a goddess. *Diana—Ephesia mammis multis et veribus [uberibus] exstructa.* Minucius, 2. 21. where see Davies. Theophilus should rather have called her "Ἀστειμὴ than Ἀθηνᾶ, but the pagans confounded their deities together, and made their Ceres, Diana, Hecate, Isis, Proserpina, Minerva, &c. to be one and the same, and thence came the *Symbolic* and *Pantheistic* images of gods and goddesses, representing the attributes of several deities.

Contemporary with Theophilus was Irenæus, who gives us an account of miracles wrought in the church, as healing the sick, casting out devils, speaking various languages, raising the dead, &c.

It hath been hitherto taken for granted on all sides that he speaks of all these miracles, as being performed in his days. Therefore Dr Middleton has laboured to invalidate his testimony, and to shew that he was a weak, credulous, and injudicious man; and I fear it will be no easy task to clear him entirely from the imputation of credulity and inaccuracy\*. But on considering the words of Irenæus, a conjecture offered itself

\* The credulity and inaccuracy of the Christians of those times permit us not to trust to their relations, especially when they contain any thing preternatural. One cannot help wishing that they had been more circumspect and less credulous; but perhaps providence would not preserve them from these errors and defects, that it might plainly appear, that they were men in no manner comparable to the first disciples of Jesus Christ, and consequently altogether incapable of forging the books of the New Testament. *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M., xxiii. p. 27.

itself to me, which may perhaps deserve notice : Irenæus, writing against heretics, observes that they never had miraculous gifts amongst them, and thereby might be distinguished from the disciples of Christ. Then he proceeds to speak of the miracles performed by the latter, mixing those which had been wrought by the apostles and their immediate successors with those which, in his opinion, and according to common report, still continued in the church. When he speaks of resurrections he says, the soul *returned*, the dead *were raised*, and *remained* σὺν ἡμῖν, *with us*, † that is, *with us Christians* ; but he fixes not the time when they were recalled to life, and were to be seen. It is not evident therefore, even upon his own account of it, that the dead were raised, or remained alive at the time he wrote. It is remarkable that when he speaks of casting out devils, healing the sick, and other miracles, he uses the *present tense*, ἐπιτελῶσιν, ἐλαύνουσιν, ἰῶνται, &c. but when he mentions resurrections, he has the caution *always* to use the *aurist*, ἐπέστρεψεν, ἐχαρίσθη, ἠγέρθησαν, παρέμειναν.

Irenæus says, that the dead were raised and remained alive for some years : Quadratus, who wrote his apology about fifty years before him, speaks thus ; Τῷ δὲ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα αἰεὶ παρῶν ἀληθῆ ὥς ἦν οἱ θεραπευθέντες· αἱ ἀνισάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν οἱ ἐν ὥφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι, καὶ ἀνισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ παρόντες· οὗ δὲ ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος, ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἰκανόν. ὥστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμιέτους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. *Servatoris autem nostri opera*

\* Nūn dici potest, de re quæ ætate nostra facta est, idemque valet ac τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, quod Eusebius usurpare solet de rebus multo ante gestis. Ut cum dicit de Porphyrio philosopho ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος—Justinus de Antinoo ita loquitur, τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ, qui nostra ætate vixit. *Valesius ad Euseb. iv. 8.*

*pera semper conspicua erant, quippe quæ vera essent : ii scilicet qui morbis liberati, aut qui ex morte ad vitam revocati fuerant. Qui quidem non solum dum sanabantur, aut dum ad vitam revocabantur, conspecti sunt ab omnibus, sed secuto deinceps tempore. Nec solum quamdiu in terris moratus est Servator noster, verum etiam post ejus discessum diu superstites fuerunt : adeo ut nonnulli eorum etiam ad nostra usque tempora pervenerint. Apud Euseb. iv. 3. Both of them use the same word ἱκανός. χρόνον ἱκανόν, says Quadratus ; ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι, says Irenæus. Did Irenæus copy Quadratus \* ?*

Irenæus

\* Τοσῶτον δὲ ἀποδέσσι τῷ νεκρὸν ἐγεῖραι, καθὼς ὁ Κύριος ἠγεῖρε καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι πολλάκις, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίας πάσης αἰτησαμένης μετὰ νηθείας καὶ ληανείας πολλῆς, ἐπέσρεψε τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ τελεωτηκότος, καὶ ἐχαρίσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων.—εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Κύριον φανίσαιδῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποικέναι φήσουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ προφητικά ἀνάγοντες αὐτὸς, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξομεν πᾶντα ὅτως περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προειρησθαι καὶ γεγονέναι βεβαίως, καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ ὀνόματι οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτὸς μαθηταί, παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὴν χάριν, ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς εἰς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὴν δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρ' αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσι βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ὥς πολλὰκις καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσι τῶν μελλόντων, καὶ ὀπίσθιας καὶ ῥήσεις προφητικάς· ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς κάμνονας δια τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶναι, καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἀποκαθιστᾶσιν. ἤδη δὲ καθὼς ἔφαμεν καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν, καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι. καὶ τί γάρ ; ἔκ' εἶναι ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὧν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ Θεοῦ λαβοῦσα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σαυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, μήτε ἐξαπατῶσα τινὰς, μήτε ἐξαργυρίζομένη, ὡς γὰρ δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρὰ Θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακομῆται.—καθὼς καὶ πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικά χαρίσματα ἐχόντων. καὶ παντοδαπαῖς λαλῶντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γνώσεσιν καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερὸν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι. καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκδηγούμενων. *Tantum abest, ut mortuum*

Irenæus says that evil spirits were cast out of pagans, so as to return no more, and that they who were thus cured often embraced Christianity. Tertullian *ad Scap.* iv. and Origen in *Reg.* affirm the same.

Irenæus says not as some have imagined, that ALL Christians could work miracles ; he only says, *οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ μαθηταί*, *they who are true disciples of Christ*, which is not the same as *πάντες*, and only means that none

*excitent per orationem, quemadmodum Dominus et Apostoli fecerunt. Sed et sæpenumero inter fratres, tota simul unius loci Ecclesia ob aliquam necessitatem id flagitante cum jejuniis multis et orationibus, reversa est in corpus anima defuncti, et Sanctorum precibus, hominis vita donata est.—Quod si simulatione quadam ac præstigiis hæc Dominum fecisse dicturi sunt, ad prophetarum oracula eos deducentes, ex illis demonstrabimus cuncta de ipso ita prædicta et gesta esse certissime, eumque solum esse Filium Dei. Unde etiam in ejus nomine, quotquot veri sunt ejus discipuli, accepta ab eo gratia ad salutem atque utilitatem reliquorum omnium ea faciunt, prout unusquisque ipsorum ab eo munus acceperit. Alii enim Dæmonas expellunt certissime ac verissime ; adeo ut qui ejusmodi malis spiritibus liberati sunt, sæpe fidem amplectantur, et in Ecclesia permaneant. Alii præscientiam futurorum et visiones sortiti sunt, et propheticas prædictiones. Alii infirmos per impositionem manuum curant, ac pristinae sanitati restituunt. Sed et mortui aliquoties, ut supra diximus, excitati sunt, et pluribus deinceps annis nobiscum remanserunt. Quid plura ? non potest numerus iniri donorum, quæ per universum orbem Ecclesia a Deo accipiens, in nomine ejus qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est Jesu Christi, quotidie ad opitulationem gentium operatur ; nec fallens quenquam, nec pecuniam corradens. Ut enim gratis accepit a Deo, sic etiam gratis ministrat.---Sicuti multos ex fratribus audimus in Ecclesia, qui prophetiæ dona consecuti sunt, et omni linguarum genere per Spiritum loquuntur, et ad hominum utilitatem, occulta in lucem proferunt, atque arcana Dei mysteria exponunt. Irenæus ii. 57. p. 166. Ed. Massuet ; or Euseb. v. 7.*



none except true Christians had such powers. These learned men seem to have been misled by the translation of Valesius. Διὸ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃς ὀνόμασι οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ μαθηταὶ παρ' αὐτῷ λαβόντες τὴν χάριν—*unde etiam in ejus nomine, quotquot veri sunt ejus discipuli, accepta ab eo gratia*—So Valesius, who had no reason to put in *quotquot*. It should be, *Unde etiam in illius nomine, veri ejus discipuli, &c.*

The general sense of the passage produced here from Irenæus is this ; Heretics never had any miraculous powers, much less the power of raising the dead : yet this our Lord and his apostles have done, this the brethren have often by their united prayers obtained from God : the dead have been raised, and have continued with us for some years. The true disciples of Christ receive various gifts, and daily impart them as freely as they have received them ; some foretel future events, others heal the sick, others expel evil spirits, &c.

I suspect that if Irenæus had been called upon to explain himself as to these gifts, and to prove his assertions, he would have said that the ejecting of dæmons, and the healing the sick were still performed upon certain occasions ; but that the speaking of languages, the disclosing the secrets of mens hearts, and the raising of the dead had been performed by apostles and apostolical men ; and that he had mentioned all these miracles without discrimination of time, as gifts conferred on the faithful, and never on heretics.

In speaking of these miracles he alludes to the New Testament, and talks in the apostolical style : Καθὼς εἶδ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὴν δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρ' αὐτοῦ. from 1 *Pet.* iv. 10. ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβε χάρισμα—Again ; Μῆτε ἐξαπαλῶσα τινάς, μήτε ἐξαργυρίζομένη. from 2 *Cor.* xii. 16.—δόλω ὑμᾶς ἔλαβον. Μὴ τινα ὧν ἀπέσπαρα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δι' αὐτῷ ἐπλεονέκησα ὑμᾶς ; Again ;

gain ; Ὡς ᾧ δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρὰ Θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακονεῖ. from *Matt.* x. 8. δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε δωρεὰν δότε. Again ; τὰ κρύφια εἰς φανερόν ἀγόντων. from 1 *Cor.* xiv. 25. καὶ οὕτω τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεσθαι.

After Irenæus, there is hardly any mention made of the gift of tongues in ecclesiastical history. One who hath written the life of Pachomius, a monk of the fourth century, says amongst other things equally marvellous and equally credible, that this saint had received a power to speak all sorts of languages. See Bollandus, or Tillemont H. E. vii. p. 224.

As to the ejection of dæmons, mentioned by Irenæus, and other fathers, every one knows how often even the wise and the wary have been deceived in the affair of sorcery, witchcraft, and dæmoniacal operations. The proofs must be very clear and the case easily distinguishable from bodily disorders, or from imposture, before a man should give a full assent to the testimony either of ancient or of modern Christians. The speaking of new languages, as we observed before, hath been supposed one of the marks of a possession. *Hoc prodigii Dæmon imitatione prosecutus est, si creditur Hieronymo in vita Hilarionis : Videres de ore barbaro, et qui Francam tantum et Latinam noverat, Syra ad purum verba resonare. Simile prodigium narratur a Gregorio Magno : Ammonius mihi jam in monasterio positus narravit, quod in ea mortalitate quæ Patrici \* Narsi temporibus, hanc urbem vehementur afflixit, in domo prædicti Valeriani puer armentarius fuit, præcipuæ simplicitatis, et humilitatis. Cum vero ejusdem advocati domus eadem clade vastaretur, idem puer percussus est, et ad mortem usque deductus,*

\* I suppose it should be *Patricii Narsetis* or *Narsis*.

deductus, qui subito sublatus a præsentibus rediit, si-  
bique dominum vocari fecit : cui ait, Ego in cœlo fui.  
—ut vero scias quod me in cœlum fuisse verum fate-  
or, ecce accepi illic, ut linguis omnium loquar. Num-  
quid tibi incognitum fuit, Græcam me linguam om-  
nino non nosse, et tamen Græce loquor, ut cognoscas  
an verum sit quod me omnes linguas accepisse confi-  
teor ; cui tunc Græce dominus suus locutus est ; at-  
que ita ille in eadem lingua respondit, ut cuncti qui  
aderant mirarentur. In eadem quoque domo  
prædicti Narsi Spatarius Vulgar manebat, qui fes-  
tine ad ægrum deductus, ei Vulgarica lingua locu-  
tus est. Sed ita puer ille in Italia natus et nutritus,  
in eadem locutione respondit. *Quæ si vera sunt, ut  
vera esse possunt, crediderim non miserum puerum tot  
linguis imbutum fuisse, at Dæmonem, ut olim serpentis,  
sic et loquentis lingua, finxisse voces pronuncianti peregrin-  
us. Quippe die tertio infelix ille puer, manus ac  
brachia, lacertosque suos, dentibus laniavit, atque ita  
de corpore exivit.* S. Basnage, Annal. i. p. 424.

These things may be true, as Basnage observes ;  
but surely we want better vouchers than Jerom, and  
Ammonius the monk. We might as well believe, upon  
the authority of Æsop and Phædrus, that the *fox* and  
the *cat* held a dialogue together in Greek or in Latin.

“ The reason for which so many magicians were  
“ found amongst the Jews, though they were con-  
“ demned by the law of God, was that the Jews as-  
“ cribed most diseases, those especially which disturb  
“ the understanding and dislocate the limbs, to the  
“ malice of dæmons, and imagined that such diseases  
“ could only be cured by sorcery and incantations.  
“ We find in the Gospel, that, when our Saviour  
“ cured the diseased and the possessed, the Jews  
“ said that he wrought these miracles by the power  
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“ and assistance of dæmons.” *Vigneul-Marville*\*, tom. i. p. 278.

“ There are men of abilities, who respect the authority of the sacred books, and yet know not how to believe that the dæmoniacs mentioned in the Gospels were tormented by dæmons. They are inclined to think that their diseases were natural, but that the causes of them were not known. This opinion † gives me no offence; the miracles of our Saviour, upon this supposition, were only so much the greater, since it is much more wonderful to command a disease than to command a devil to depart instantly, and to be instantly obeyed; besides, our Lord was not sent to rectify the wrong notions which the Jews might entertain concerning these maladies.” Thus Beausobre, in his *Posthumous Remarks on Mat. v. p. 14.* whose sincere attachment to Christianity no man can fairly call in question.

In his notes on *Mark v.* he is of opinion that the dæmoniac who brake his chains and fetters, must have been assisted by an evil spirit, and that, of the dæmoniacs mentioned in the sacred books, some were really possessed, and others were only afflicted with epilepsies, &c.

“ Theosebius, a pagan philosopher, had a wife who was possessed with a dæmon. To deliver her, he at first had recourse to prayers and humble intreaties; but the dæmon, who was an opiniatre, made

\* His true name was *Dom Bonaventure D'Argonne*, and he was *Prieur de la Chaireuse de Gaillon*. See *Lettres de Bayle*, p. 666. 708. 869. *Vous avez raison*, says Bayle, *de trouver bon le Melange de Vigneul-Marville*, &c.

† Some learned men now living have declared themselves of this opinion, with a very good design, as I firmly believe; but their system is liable to insuperable objections.



“ made a jest of all this. At last Theosebius con-  
 “ jured him *in the name of the God of the Hebrews,*  
 “ *and called to witness the beams of the sun.* Then the  
 “ dæmon quitted his lodging, protesting that he had  
 “ a profound respect for all the gods in general, but  
 “ most particularly for the God of the Hebrews. It  
 “ is not a Christian who relates this story : it is the  
 “ philosopher Damascius. Apud Phot. Cod. 242.  
 col. 1037. *Beausobre* Hist. de Man. ii. 67.

It would not be right to overlook *Tertullian's Dæmoniac*. A woman, says he, went to the theatre, and came home possessed by a devil. The exorcist, who endeavoured to cast him out, asked him how he had the assurance to enter into a Christian. Why not ? said the dæmon : I found her at my own house. *De Spectac.* 26.

It is most probable that the dæmoniacs described in the New Testament were really possessed. See page 34. When the devils went out of the dæmoniacs, and entered into the swine, if the disorder of these men was only madness, the sense must be that *the disease left the men, and was transferred to the beasts*, and this must have been performed by the immediate act and power of Christ : but if it was a dæmoniacal case, the destruction of the beasts was only by his permission, and by the act and power of the evil spirits. It deserves therefore to be considered, whether a bare permission of our Lord, in this case, be not more consistent with the general character of his mighty works, which were of the merciful, and not of the severe kind, and also with the words of the three Evangelists, which represent him, not as *acting*, but only as *not hindering*.

As to the dæmoniacs in the following ages, it may be left as a dubious point: dubious, I say; for it is possible that, after the apostolical age, evil spirits might be permitted or commanded by the Supreme Governor to afflict men, and might be obliged to depart at the command of Christians, and at the name of Jesus. It is possible that such interpositions of dæmons might be permitted in one century and in one region, and not in another. The invisible, and spiritual, and angelical world may undergo many variations, and be subject to different restraints and regulations in different ages, so as to interfere more, or less, or not at all, in human affairs. Thus much in behalf, not of *belief*, but of *academical hesitation*.

Le Clerc, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, hath inserted the *Christian Creed*, as it stood in the days of Irenæus:

“ *Ecclesia*, inquit Irenæus, *tametsi per totum orbem,*  
 “ *usque ad extremos terræ fines, sparsa, ab Apostolis eo-*  
 “ *rumque Discipulis fidem accepit, quæ est, I. in unum Deum*  
 “ *Patrem Omnipotentem, qui fecit cælum et terram et mare*  
 “ *et omnia quæ in eis sunt, II. et in unum Jesum Chris-*  
 “ *tum, Filium Dei, nostræ salutis causâ, incarnatum;*  
 “ *III. et in Spiritum Sanctum, qui, per Prophetas, eco-*  
 “ *nomias et adventus (Christi) prædicavit, et generationem*  
 “ *e Virgine, et per passionem et resurrectionem e mortuis,*  
 “ *et cum carne in cælos adsumptionem dilecti Jesu Christi*  
 “ *Domini nostri, et e cælo adventum ejus, in gloriâ Pa-*  
 “ *tris, ad colligenda omnia, et ad excitandum omnem totius*  
 “ *humani generis carnem; IV. ut Christo Jesu Domino*  
 “ *nostro et Servatori et Regi, secundum Patris inconspicui*  
 “ *voluntatem, flectatur omne genu cælestium, terrestrium,*  
 “ *et inferorum, et omnis lingua ei confiteatur, utque ipse*  
 “ *justum judicium in omnibus ferat, spiritualia quidem*  
 “ *nequitie et Angelos transgressores, quique in defectione*  
 “ *fuerunt.*

“ fuerunt, impiosque item homines et injustos et flagitiosos  
 “ et blasphemos in ignem æternum mittat : justis vero  
 “ sanctis, qui præcepta ejus servaverint, et in amore  
 “ permanserint, seu ab initio, seu post penitentiam, vitam  
 “ gratificatus, immortalitate eos donet, et gloria æterni  
 “ circumdet.”

*Hanc confirmat in sequentibus Irenæus fidem per totum terrarum orbem a Christianis unanimi consensu et una voce doceri.—Hinc intelligere est eadem esse omnibus summa Fidei Capita, nec doctos pluribus indigere ad consequendam salutem, quam minus eruditos, neque ad plura admittenda adigi posse. Revelationi, nimirum, ut detrahi nihil potest, sic nec quidquam addere fas est. Ideoque semel constituta Fidei Capita neque augeri, sine nova Revelatione, neque minui possunt. Quod ad animum revocasse, oportuisset eos, qui nova Fidei Capita sequentibus sæculis, sine notis ullis a Deo mandatis acceptis, condiderunt.—Ex hac, aliisve id genus priscis Confessionibus, conflatum postea est, quod vocatur Symbolum Apostolorum, ut viri docti ostenderunt. p. 651.*

Let us add to this, the creed which is delivered to us by Tertullian :

*Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispositione, quam Oeconomy dicimus, ut unicus Dei sit et Filius, Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil; hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum; hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum, secundum Scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in cælos resumptum sedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos; qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei*

*fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.* Adv. Praxeam, 2.

These are perhaps the two most ancient creeds that are extant, and not at all the worse for their antiquity.

Towards the end of the second century, Pantænus, a philosopher and a learned man, went to India to preach the gospel. He is not said to have wrought any miracles there; but it is related that he found Christians in those countries. *Eusebius* v. 10.

Narcissus was made bishop of Jerusalem about A. D. 180. The Christians of that country, in the time of Eusebius, preserved the memory of some wonderful works wrought by him, and in his favour, which Eusebius relates, vi. 9, 10, 11. It may seem the more probable that he should have been enabled to perform miracles, because he is not only represented as a very good man, but he was in some manner, a disciple or successor of the apostles, and an apostolical father; for he was born about A. D. 96. before the death of St John, was made bishop when he was eighty-four years old, and lived to an uncommon age, to a hundred and sixteen at least. But as his miracles stand upon *traditionary report* in Eusebius, every one may judge of them as he thinks fit.

Narcissus is said to have turned water into oil; but the change of water into oil to supply the church-lamps, has the air of a miracle performed upon an occasion rather too slender. Let us therefore leave it *in ambiguo*.

This miracle calls to mind a story related by Dio, xlviii. Orosius vi. and Eusebius in his *Chronicon*, that, in the time of Augustus, a fountain of oil burst out at Rome, and flowed for a whole day. In natural history there are accounts of greazy and bituminous springs,



springs, where something like oil has floated on the water. Pliny xxxi. p. 549. and Harduin, in his notes, mention many such fountains, *qui explent olei vicem*, and, *quorum aqua lucernæ ardeant*. So that this report of Dio, &c. should not rashly be ranked with the appearance of *Castor and Pollux*, the man with the red beard, and other prodigies of the like nature.

An anonymous writer of the second century says, that Natalis, a confessor, having accepted of a bishoprick amongst the heretics, was severely scourged all night by angels, and the next morning repented and returned to the church, *Apud. Euseb. v. 28*. The testimony of this unknown writer cannot be of great authority : but the story seems to have given the hint to Jerom to feign that he also underwent the same discipline for studying profane authors, Cicero, Virgil, &c. Upon which one of the Italian *Ciceronians* hath observed, that if Jerom was whipped for being a *Ciceronian*, that is for writing altogether in the style and manner of Cicero, he suffered what he did not deserve, \* and might have pleaded *Not guilty*.

Of all the Latin fathers Lactantius would have been entitled to the most stripes ; as being by far the purest and politest writer ; but he escaped this punishment : he was not whipped, he was only starved. *Lactantius, vir omnium suo tempore eruditissimus, sed adeo pauper, ut plerumque etiam necessariis indigerit*. Hieronymus *Chron*. I mention not this as any thing extraordinary or wonderful ; not as one of the miracles of the fourth century : for poverty is a disease which rages as much and as frequently in the *Republic of Letters*,

A a 4

\* Yet he was a very good writer, for the time in which he lived.

ters, as the *Plague* in *Constantinople*. The *motto* of the *Republic* was given to it by Terence : it is,

*Modo liceat vivere : est spes, Quæ ? Nos esurituros satis.*

From the death of Severus, A. D. 211. to Decius, A. D. 249, the Christians enjoyed a calm with little interruption : but prosperity is often a greater trial than adversity ; a relaxation of discipline and a corruption of manners ensued. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, complains of it heavily, and describes it in very strong terms, which yet may perhaps require some abatement, though other writers concur in a great measure with him. His vehement temper, his indignation against vice, and his African eloquence might induce him to make free with a figure called *exaggeration*. But the number of Christians who fell from the faith in the Decian persecution shews that there had been a preceding degeneracy. As the Christians and the Pagans had dwelt quietly together in civil society, they learned something of each other, and the former grew too compliant to worldly fashions, and suffered from the contagion of bad example. In the time of Tertullian, if not before, there were some Christian soldiers, and it is hard to conceive how they could maintain their innocence in that station, and avoid such dissimulation, and such practices\* as were scarcely allowable. It is to be supposed that the Christians kept out of the army as much as they could ; which they might the more easily do, because the Roman service was attended with many profits, advantages,

\* Religio tota castrensis Signa veneratur, Signa jurat, Signa omnibus Diis præponit. *Tertullian*. Apol. Afterwards the Christian soldiers worshipped their *Labarum*.

advantages, and privileges, and so the army was supplied and recruited with the less difficulty, and the officers were usually cautious in accepting those who offered themselves, and required testimonials of their being duly and legally qualified; but to be sure it must have happened sometimes that Christians were not left to their option, that a refusal would have been criminal, and that they must have listed, or have offended against the civil laws. In such cases they might think it permitted to them to enter into the service, though hardly as volunteers; but in this point, from the time of Tertullian, they grew less and less scrupulous.

Eusebius highly commends the behaviour of the Christian soldiers, who in the reign of Diocletian suffered themselves to be turned out, rather than renounce their religion, and at the same time represents their station as very honourable and very profitable, and producing τιμὴν, δόξαν, ὑπὲρ πάντων. viii. 4. Martin was ordered by his father, who had served in the army, to list himself (as the laws required) about A. D. 356. *cum edictum esset a regibus ut veteranorum filii ad militiam scriberentur.* Sulpit. Sever. *Vit. Mart.* c. 2. The army was chiefly composed of citizens, who had some fortunes, more or less, and whose names were in the public registers; nor did the Romans usually admit aliens, or beggars, or bankrupts, or slaves, or freed-men into the land service, though in choosing marines they were not nice and scrupulous. They who refused to serve, when they were summoned, unless they had an exemption or a lawful excuse, were severely punished. But the stipends, the rewards, the privileges, the promotions, and the military genius of the Romans, made it easy enough  
to

to find soldiers. See Lipsius *de Milit. Rom.* and particularly the *Theod. Code*, l. vii. p. 251, &c.

Towards the middle of the third century, one Paul fled from the persecution, for which he deserves to be commended ; and quitting all that he had, retired to the deserts, and contracting a love of solitude and a dislike of the world, lived there alone, as it is said, ninety years. This hermit unfortunately set an example, which was followed by too many, and he may be considered as a kind of father and founder of the Monks. Jerom wrote his life ; his romance, I should say, as also that of Hilarion, who became a monk in the beginning of the fourth century, when Antony was propagating monkery in Egypt, and gathering disciples.

Tillemont hath made two extraordinary concessions concerning Jerom, that he was more disposed to augment than to diminish miracles, and that exactness was no part of his character. *H. E.* vii. p. 669. *not*. And Du Pin observes that Jerom's Life of Paul contains things *qui sont fort peu croiables*.

About the same time began the schism of the Novations, which lasted two hundred years, and then dwindled away. Their distinguishing character was that they would not receive into the church penitent sinners, and those who lapsed in time of persecution. They are also said to have condemned second marriages. There were at the end of the sixth century some people in Alexandria called Novations, who refused to honour the reliques of the martyrs, and therefore were accused of despising the saints, and of making a jest of martyrdom, according to the stupid jargon of the times. *Tillemont*, *H. E.* iii. p. 475.

Origen was born A. D. 185, and died about 253.

He



He was very learned and ingenious, and indefatigably industrious ; his whole life from his early years was spent in examining, teaching, and explaining the Scriptures, to which he joined the study of philosophy, and of all polite literature. He was humble, modest, and patient under great injuries and cruel treatment which he received from Christians and Pagans ; for though he ever had a considerable number of friends and admirers on account of his amiable qualities and useful accomplishments, he was persecuted and calumniated by men who had neither his learning nor his virtue, degraded from the order of presbyters, driven from his home, and excommunicated by one Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, who envied him, says Eusebius, for the reputation which he had gained. Whilst they were both together in the land of the living, the bishop had the advantage over the presbyter, so as to be able to harrass and oppress him : but now *Origen* is a far more illustrious and a far more reverend name than *Demetrius*, in the Christian world, and in the Republic of Letters. *Suum cuique decus rependit Posteritas.*

*Pro hoc sudore quid accepit præmii Origenes ? Damnatur a Demetrio Episcopo. Exceptis Palæstinæ et Arabiæ et Phœnicis atque Achaiæ sacerdotibus, in damnationem ejus consentit orbis. Roma ipsa contra hunc cogit senatum ; non propter dogmatum novitatem, nec propter hæresim, ut nunc adversus eum rabidi canes simulant : sed quia gloriam eloquentiæ ejus et scientiæ ferre non poterant, et, illo docente, omnes muti putabantur.* So said Jerom, whilst he had a favourable opinion of Origen, and before he turned his coat, and abused him. *Vid. Rufin. Apol. ii.*

*There are many, says Origen, who loving me more than*

*than I deserve, speak too advantageously of me, and ascribe to me what I have not, and pretend not to have : others decry all that I say and do, and accuse me of sentiments which I never held. Both transgress the rules of truth ; the latter through spite and hatred, the former through fond affection ; affection which perhaps deludes and misleads as much as enmity. In Luc. Hom. 25.*

By boldly and openly confessing Jesus Christ at all times, by attending the martyrs, and by converting many, and some of them considerable persons, to Christianity, he highly provoked the Pagans, and was often in the utmost danger, and in the reign of Decius he underwent imprisonment, chains, and tortures. When he was not seventeen years old, his father suffered martyrdom, and he had so earnest a desire to die with him for the same cause, and threw himself so much in the way of the persecutors, that his mother was obliged to use violence and to confine him at home. He then wrote his father a letter, exhorting him to be constant, and not moved by compassion and affection for his family, which consisted of a wife and seven sons who had nothing to support them, and would be left in great want. He was ever extremely sober and exemplary, practising what he preached to others, and he lived and died poor and destitute even of common conveniencies.

He carried his rigour and self-denial to an excess, using austerities which proved prejudicial to his constitution, and whilst he expounded the scriptures \* too much in the *allegorical* way, he interpreted, I know not how, some passages too *literally*, and by  
acting

\* His excesses of this kind can never be excused ; they were in him even a distemper, which might be called, *Furor Allegoricus*.

acting suitably to such a sense, he injured his own body and his health ; but this was in his younger days, and he condemned himself for it afterwards.

His inquisitive genius, and his mixing philosophy with Christianity, led him perhaps into some learned singularities, and ingenious *réveries* ; but he was by temper far from dogmatizing in such points, from fomenting chisms, and setting up himself for the head of a party. He lived in times when Christians were not so shackled with systems and determinations as they were afterwards, nor so much exposed to disingenuous and illiberal objections, and had more liberty to pursue their inquiries, and to speak their mind.

That he sacrificed to idols, to avoid an obscene and most infamous punishment contrived by the Pagans, is a tale recorded by the father of tales, by Epiphanius, who was a diligent collector of groundless and censorious reports, and who hated Origen and his writings. Towards the end of his life he wrote his justly esteemed book against Celsus, where, after owning that the number of miracles in his days was very much diminished, he speaks of some which were performed even then, as healing the sick, and casting out devils by invocation of Jesus, and he mentions some who were converted to Christianity by visions and revelations. He speaks of some of these things as one who was well informed, and he appeals to God that what he says is true, p. 34, 35, &c. This seems to be the best testimony we have that the sick in those days were sometimes miraculously healed, and thus much may be affirmed that he was utterly incapable of affirming a fact which he knew or suspected to be false.

But from his writings and from his conduct it appears

pears too evidently to be denied or dissembled, that, with all his great and good qualities, he had a warm imagination, which lessens the force of his testimony in the affair of miracles, though his piety and probity be unquestionable. He seems to have admitted the power of magical \* spells, and the efficacy of divine names pronounced in barbarous languages; and hence he also was accused of approving magic arts, by some of his adversaries, but unreasonably, since they ought rather to have charged him with overcredulity in these things.

“ Origen figured to himself divers kinds of dæmons, “ presiding, if we may so say, over different vices, “ and having each their prince and their chief. Le- “ gions of dæmons, some of pride, others of anger, “ others of avarice, or of fornication, laboured incessantly under the orders of their leaders, to seduce “ miserable mortals, and to turn their hearts towards “ vice. This imagination was not peculiar to Origen.” Orig. in Jos. Hom. xv. App. Mass. Diss. in Iren. p. 62. *Beausobre* Hist. de Man. ii. 20.

It is no wonder if they who supposed that each vice had its presiding and influencing dæmon, found dæmons and dæmoniacs every where, and ascribed almost every moral or natural evil to evil spirits, so that a profligate fellow could not commit any misdemeanour, but it was, *Siquis, instigante Diabolo, &c.*

But what Origen hath delivered concerning *divine impulses* upon hearts properly disposed to receive them, is more probable and more reasonable. *Many people,* says he, *have been brought over to Christianity, by the Spirit*

\* Contra Cels. i. 19. Synesius, a platonic philosopher and a bishop, had much the same notions.



*Spirit of God giving a sudden turn to their minds, and offering visions to them either by day or night ; so that instead of hating the word, they became ready even to lay down their lives for it. I have seen many examples of this sort.— God is my witness, that my sole purpose is, to recommend the religion of Jesus, not by fictitious tales, &c.* Why should it be thought improbable that pagans of good dispositions, but not free from prejudices, should have been called by divine admonitions, by dreams, or visions, which might be a support and a reinforcement to Christianity in those days of distress ? See the story of Basilides and Potamiæna, in Eusebius, vi. 5. Basilides, whilst he was a pagan soldier, had shewed great humanity and compassion to this illustrious virgin and martyr, and she prayed to God for his conversion, and, as we are told, appeared to him in a dream, upon which he professed himself a Christian, and was beheaded. Potamiæna seems \* to have been one of Origen's disciples, and it is not at all unlikely (though I think it hath hitherto escaped observation) that Origen had this example in his thoughts, when he wrote the words above cited.

Socrates the historian makes a remark in which Plato and Origen are concerned. Speaking of two learned presbyters, he expresses his wonder that they continued Arians, *since one of them was very fond of Plato, and the other of Origen* ; ὧν ὁ μὲν τὸν Πλάτωνα ἀεὶ μετὰ χειρὸς  
 παρ

\* Rufinus Potamiænam Origenis discipulam facit. In quo Rufino refragari equidem non ausim. Etsi enim id diserte non dixit Eusebius, ex ejus tamen narratione id colligi videtur. Nam cum Martyres qui ex Origenis schola exiterunt, hic recensens, Basilidem et Potamiænam illis accenseat, hi quoque ex Origenes discipulis fuerint necesse est. quod cum de Basilide dici non possit, de Potamiæna certe sit admodum probabile. *Valesias.*

ρας εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ Ὁριγένην ἀνέπνεεν. vii. 6. Οὐδὲ γὰρ Πλάτων, says he, τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τὸ τρίτον αἷτιον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἰνομάζειν εἶωθεν, ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως εἰληφέναι φησί· ἢ Ὁριγένης συναΐδιον πανταχῶς ὁμολογεῖ τὸν γόν τῷ Πατρὶ. *Etenim nec Plato secundum ac tertiam Causam, ut ipse quidem nominare solet, existendi initium cepisse dicit: Et Origenes passim in libris suis Filium Patri coeternum esse confitetur.* He adds, that these two eloquent and learned ecclesiastics, though they continued in their own church, mended and improved the Arians not a little, and brought them nearer to the Consubstantialists. Both sides wanted mending very much, and to be taught to differ and dispute at least like Christians, and not to pull out one another's eyes.

The Arians and the Consubstantialists \* both laid claim to Origen, as favouring their systems, and neither side wanted arguments drawn from his writings; for, on the one hand, Origen admitted the eternity of the Λόγος, and, on the other hand, he said many things concerning the Λόγος, which seemed agreeable to the Semi-Arian doctrines.

Origen was a Platonic Christian, and a Platonist would have readily allowed that the Λόγος was an *eternal* emanation, or production from the *First Cause*, the Τὸ "Εν.

Cudworth hath made it probable that some notion of a trinity obtained in the Pagan world. It is to be found even amongst the Chinese, if the accounts given us of that nation may be credited. Whence had the Pagans this notion? From *the first chapter of Genesis*, say some persons. Let them by all means enjoy their opinion, if they can refrain from anathematizing

\* One part of them, I mean: for others condemned him as a father of Arianism.

tizing those who differ from them, and not imitate the sage council of Sirmium, which anathematized all those who should dare to deny that God the Father spake to his Son, when he said, *Let us make man*, &c. Socrates H. E. ii. 30.

The Platonic philosophers, when they considered the visible, and vital, and intellectual system, found that, besides sluggish and inanimate matter, which has a shadowy being, and is a small remove above nothing, there existed in the universe, *life* and *active power*; above that, *reason*, *understanding*, *wisdom*; above that, *goodness*, above which there could be no imaginable perfection. The same things they found in every man who acts according to his nature, namely, *life*, *reason*, and *goodness*. Tracing effects up to their causes, and proceeding in the ascending scale, above all other beings they placed as *principles*, a  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ , above that a  $\Lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , and above both a  $\tau\acute{o} \text{ } \epsilon\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \text{ } \alpha\lambda\theta\acute{\iota}\nu$ . These notions the Platonics ascribed to their master; but it must be confessed that Plato talks *very obscurely* upon the subject.

The emperor Julian, who rejected Christ, did not reject the notion of a  $\Lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ . His  $\Lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  was the *sun*, whom he accounted to be the visible image of the invisible God, whilst he perversely shut his eyes against the *Sun of righteousness* that arose on a benighted world with salvation in his rays.

Erasmus was one of those who had a high esteem for Origen. *Plus me docet*, says he, *Christianæ philosophiæ unica Origenis pagina, quam decem Augustini*. This is an honourable testimony for Origen; it is *Laudari a viro laudato*.

Gregory, called *Thaumaturgus*, a disciple of Origen, is said to have wrought many miracles; but Eusebius,

who makes honourable mention of him, says not a word concerning them, which is remarkable ; and some of them are of a very suspicious kind, as his writing laconic epistles to Satan, and laying commands upon him, which were punctually obeyed. This is full as probable as that the bones of Babylas drove the devil from Daphne, though both these ingenious stories, with others of the same kind, are defended by Tillemont, and by Father Baltus, and the latter by Cave, and by many other writers. The relators of Gregory's miracles lived when romancing was much in fashion, as Socrates, Theodoret, Rufinus ; and also Gregory of Nyssa who wrote his life, and this Gregory's brother, Basil, who had learned many of these stories from their grandmother Macrina. Gregory Nyssen says also that the apostle St John, at the request of the Virgin Mary, presented Thaumaturgus with a *creed* \*, which the saint wrote down immediately, and ever after made use of, as well he might, and transmitted it to posterity. The story seems to have been borrowed from the transactions between *Numa* and the goddess *Egeria* ; and both are equally credible. This *διωπέλις ἄγαλμα*, *this symbol dropt from the clouds*, which must needs be a wonderful curiosity, is still extant, to our great benefit, and may be seen (though it cannot be warranted free from interpolations,) in Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* v. p. 249. or in Cave's *Life of Gregory*. Here arises no small difficulty, the solution of which shall be left to those whom it concerns : If the Christians of the fourth and following centuries were satisfied with the truth of this narration, they should certainly have drawn up no new *Creeds*, but have rested  
contented

\* See Waterland's *Importance*, &c. p. 232. Berriman's *Hist. Acr. of the Trin. Contr.* p. 138. 141. Middleton's *Inquiry*, p. 148.



contented with a truly *apostolical symbol*, and not have had the vanity to think that they could compose a better than St John's.

Many of these celestial gifts \* were bestowed in better days upon mortal men. Pachomius, a monk of the fourth century, received from an angel a table of brass, containing rules for the monastic order. The fact is related by Cyril of Alexandria, by Palladius *Lausiac.* 38. by Sozomen iii. 14. and by Gennadius *Vit. Patr.* *Be it as it will, says Du Pin, for although this story be reported by many Authors, I cannot think that we are absolutely obliged to believe it.* Saint Pacome.

In the eighth century some monks pretended that the angel Gabriel had brought *twelve* articles from heaven, one of which was, that ecclesiastics must not marry. A *thirteenth* should have been added, *that they might keep concubines*, Bibl. Univers. xii. p. 376.

In the twelfth century an angel brought from heaven a book of prophecies upon copper plates, and gave it to a priest called Cyril, who gave it to Abbot Joachim. *Bibl. Univ.* xi. p. 13.

In Fabricius there is an epistle of Jesus Christ which was said to fall from heaven. *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* p. 307. But this is an imposture too profane to be laughed at.

Not only the ancient Pagan legislators, but the heretics also had the start of the Catholics in this curious device. An obscure sect of men called *Helcesaitæ*, *Εἰβλον τινὰ φέρουσιν, ἣν κέρουσιν ἐξ ὀρανῶ καὶ ἀπεπλήρωται*, *produce a book which they affirm to have fallen from heaven*, says Origen *apud Euseb.* vi. 38.

B b 2

It

\* See more of these Christian frauds in Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* i. p. 338.

It is affirmed, that there is no reason to reject it; that when Gregory was made bishop, Neocæsarea and its neighbourhood, consisted almost entirely of Pagans; and that when he died he left it as full of Christians, whom he had converted, and who retained a great and lasting respect for his memory, which was honoured, says Socrates, in Athens, Berytus, Pontus, and indeed in all the earth.

In the third century began the Manichæan heresy, of which I shall give an account extracted from Beausobre, who has fully discussed the subject in his History of Manichæism, and cleared it from abundance of lies and forgeries.

The Manichæans fell into great errors, and strangely corrupted the Christian faith; but they were much misrepresented, and cruelly treated by their adversaries, which probably was the case of many other ancient heretics.

The Christians of every sect and denomination, the eastern Pagans, the Mahometans, and the Jews, have all agreed in hating the Manichæans.

Their books are lost; for it was an old custom with the Christians to burn heretical writings, and to forbid the reading of them.

The accounts therefore which we have of ancient heretics are usually very imperfect, and not to be depended upon; for the Orthodox, either through resentment or ignorance, have not done them justice.

Manichæus pretended to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, and a prophet illuminated by the Paraclete, to reform all religions, and to reveal those truths which our Saviour thought it not proper to commit to his first disciples. This was his imposture, or his fanaticism :  
for

for he pretended not himself to be the Holy Ghost, though he has been accused of it.

By virtue of this divine mission, he rejected the Old and reformed the New Testament. He pretended either that the Gospels were not the works of apostles, or apostolical men whose names they bare, or that if they were, they had been falsified by Judaizing Christians: but it appears not that he or his followers took upon them to curtail or interpolate the New Testament.

Having denied the inspiration, or at least the superior authority, of the Hebrew prophets, he opposed to them other prophets, whose books the eastern nations pretended to have preserved. He affirmed that every nation had been favoured with prophets, and that the Christian church, being chiefly composed of Gentiles, ought to be guided by those illuminated Gentile teachers, and not by Hebrew instructors.

He admitted the authority of Apocryphal books composed to maintain the heresies of the *Docetæ* and of the *Encratites*, whose notions he also adopted; those of the former, who held that Christ had only the appearance of a man, and those of the latter, who condemned marriage and the use of animal food.

Manichæus believed that the divine nature was extended and limited: but as he limited not the divine perfections, his error was the less noxious, nor were some of the fathers free from it.

He held a Trinity, and the consubstantiality of the persons, but he thought them as really distinct as three men. We must not hence charge him with tritheism, unless we would involve in the same charge many of the most illustrious fathers, who were in the same sentiment.

He

He acknowledged only one God, to whom he ascribed all the attributes that seemed to him to belong to a being supremely perfect. Having no idea of a substance without place and extension, he conceived the divinity to be a living immaterial *light*, which had resided from all eternity in the highest heaven, accompanied with pure and immortal spirits, whom he called *Æons*, and who were emanations of the divine essence. This was a Platonic notion. Yet were these *Æons* infinitely beneath their author, and not, properly speaking, gods.

The highest heaven and the intelligent agents who inhabit it, compose the intellectual world which is eternal. The luminous substance, of which heaven is formed, is coeternal with God; it is also self-existent, since from nothing nothing can proceed: but the heaven and the *Æons* have only a secondary eternity, since they have a cause, which is God; yet as this cause hath operated from all eternity, they are likewise eternal. This also was Platonic.

From the essence of the Father have emanated two persons, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. These two emanations are far superior to all the others; they are consubstantial with the Father, but subordinate, and they have not absolute independency, which belongs to him alone. The first of these, since the formation of the material world, resides in the sun and moon, the second in the air. There they execute the orders of the Father, and there they will remain, till the consummation of the age. In this part of the Manichæan system there are notions not remote from the Hebrew and the Egyptian Theology,

In a corner of infinite space resided from all eternity an evil power, which Manichæus called *matter* in philosophic



losophic style, the *devil* in vulgar style, and *darkness* in mystical language, which was that of the *Magi*. The empire of this power was divided into five regions, the uppermost of which surrounded and contained within it the rest. Each of these regions had one of the elements of matter, together with living animals formed out of it; each had also its ruling prince, but all were under the dominion of the *great prince*, the sole head of the evil powers.

These two empires being thus divided by I know not what bounds, God knew the *darkness*, but the *darkness* knew not him, or the *light*, nor would ever have known the happy realms, if a sedition which arose in it had not caused the powers of darkness to come forth from their limits. Seeing the light, they projected to make an irruption into that kingdom, and to seize it. God opposed to them a power called *the first man*, who was armed with the five elements of the celestial substance. Among these elements was that of light, by which was probably meant the human soul. But this first man being too weak for his adversaries, God sent to his aid a second power, called *the living spirit*, who delivered him. However the dæmons having seized a part of the heavenly substance, light and darkness became blended together. This fable was intended as a solution of the origin of natural and moral evil.

The living spirit having conquered the dæmons, chained them in the air, leaving them no more liberty than he judged suitable to his own designs. There, in their fury, they are the cause of tempests, thunder, lightning, rain and contagious distempers.

The two substances being mixed, the living spirit judged that he could make something grand and beautiful out of them; and indeed this was the intention

of the Supreme God in permitting this mixture. The Spirit began then by separating the parts of the celestial substance which were preserved from the contagion of matter, and of them he formed the sun and moon : of those which were corrupted only in a small degree he made the planets, and the lower heaven. The rest remained confounded with the material substance, and it was all employed in forming our sublunary world where good and evil are intermixed.

As human souls were the most excellent parts of the celestial substance which the princes of darkness had seized, they contrived to retain them. The great prince formed two organized bodies upon the model of the *first man*, whom he had beheld. He made them of different sexes, and in them he inclosed the first souls which he had taken. His project was to charm them by the sweet impressions of the senses, to make them love their prisons, and to incline them irresistibly to perpetuate their captivity by the allurements of concupiscence ; and as generation continues to produce bodies resembling the two first, the souls which flutter in the air, and are dispersed every where in these lower regions, imprudently enter into the corporeal prisons which concupiscence continually produces and prepares for their reception : there they willingly continue, enamoured with their habitation.

Souls, being of celestial origin, have by nature the seeds of virtue, and the knowledge of duty ; but when they are united to bodies, they drink in the cup of oblivion a pernicious poison, which deprives them of their memory. That was Platonic.

To remedy this inconvenience, the divine providence at first made use of the ministry of good angels, who taught the ancient patriarchs salutary truths.

truths. These transmitted the knowledge of them to their descendants; and that this might never be totally extinguished, God hath not ceased to raise up in all times and in all nations wise men and prophets, till at last it pleased him to send his Son into the world. This divine minister instructed human souls concerning their true origin, the causes of their captivity, and the means of their deliverance. After having wrought innumerable miracles to confirm his doctrine, he taught them by his mystical crucifixion, how they ought to mortify the flesh with its affections: he also shewed them by his mystical resurrection and ascension, that death destroys not the man, but only breaks his prison, and restores to purified souls the liberty of returning to their heavenly country.

Flesh being composed of matter, and of the most vicious part of matter, it followed thence that the Son of God could only take the figure, not the real nature, of man. Therefore Manichæus denied the incarnation, and the birth of Christ from a virgin. He denied also that Christ made use of food for his sustenance, that he had a soul susceptible of the innocent affections, that he suffered, died, and rose again. He acknowledged that all this was done in appearance, but not in reality. He denied also the resurrection of the flesh, since that would be a perpetuating of those evils of which the flesh is the cause. He *disapproved* of marriage, as being the invention of the devils, to tie the souls to the flesh, and to retard their return to heaven. He strongly recommended all the austerities which serve to mortify the body; and for the same reason he *disapproved* of the use of wine and of flesh, pretending that it nourished the body too much,

much, and inflamed concupiscence. He required of his *elect*, or the *perfect*, that they should embrace a voluntary poverty, and meddle with no secular affairs.

This Heresiarch knew well, that as concupiscence hath such an empire over the mind, it would be a vain thing absolutely to prohibit marriage: he therefore permitted or tolerated it in the laity, as also meat, wine, and the possession of worldly goods. As all could not aspire to evangelical perfection, he used some condescension towards the weak: but as to the perfect, and particularly the ecclesiastics, he ordered them to imitate the life of Christ, who never was married, and who had no possessions. He permitted them only the most spiritualized pleasures, such as music and perfumes. His design was to wean the soul from sensual affections, because, unless it be perfectly purified, it is not qualified for the heavenly mansions.

As it is not possible that all human souls should acquire this perfection in the present state, he admitted the transmigration of the soul, a doctrine much received by those who held its immortality. He taught that souls passed from one body to another, but that those which were not purged in a certain number of these revolutions, were delivered to the dæmons of the air, to be tormented and tamed by them; that after this severe discipline, they were sent into other bodies, as into a new school, till having acquired a sufficient degree of purity, they traverse the region of matter, and enter into the moon; that the moon, when she is full of these spirits, which is when her surface is entirely bright, transmits them to the sun, and he sends them to that place which the Manichæans



chæans called *the Pillar of Glory*. Manichæus was not the inventor of these notions.

The Holy Ghost, who resides in the air, continually assists the souls by his salutary influences. The sun, who is composed of a pure and purifying fire, facilitates their ascent to heaven, and purges off the material particles whose weight retards their flight.

When all the souls and all the parts of the celestial substance shall be separated and disengaged from matter, then shall be the consummation of the age. A devouring fire shall burst forth from the caverns in which the Creator hath imprisoned it. The angel who holds up the earth, shall let it fall into the flames, and then cast the useless mass from the limits of the world into the place called in Scripture *utter darkness*. There shall the devils dwell for ever ; and the souls, which by indolence have not finished their purification at the time of this great catastrophe, for the chastisement of their negligence shall be appointed to guard the doors of the infernal regions, and to keep the devils confined to their prison, that they may no more make any attempts and inroads on the kingdom of God.

The punishments which God inflicts on human souls are corrective, and intended to produce reformation, and will produce this happy effect, more or less, sooner or later ; but the souls which have been so corrupted as to be found in a state of imperfection at the last day, must be doomed to this situation and employment, which may be considered rather as a deprivation of superior happiness and glory, than as actual misery.

Such is the Manichæan system.

The

The difficulty of conceiving a creation, and of accounting for the origin of evil, and an unwillingness to ascribe it to God, gave rise to the doctrine of two principles, one good, the other evil, or God and matter, matter eternal and uncreated, and containing in itself the seeds of incorrigible evil natural and moral, whence sprang evil beings and their chief.

This notion was very ancient, and held by Persians, Chaldæans, Indians, and other Oriental nations, and thence brought into Christianity by Christian heretics.

Basilides seems to have been the first who introduced it into Christianity at the beginning of the second century.

Manichæus or Manes, who was a Chaldæan or Babylonian, was born about A. D. 240. and was a learned and ingenuous man, and a good astronomer and geographer. He taught that the earth was spherical, and this was one of his heresies. Eusebius was of the same opinion concerning the figure of the earth, but advances it cautiously, for fear of giving offence to the Christians of his time.

Manichæus was ordained in his youth a Presbyter in the Christian church ; but a desire of mixing his philosophical notions with Christianity led him to make a new system out of both, which he hoped to propagate among the Persian infidels and the Christians. Upon this he was excommunicated, and then he insinuated himself into the favour of the Persian king.

But his personal success was small, and he pleased neither party. He offended the Persian Christians by his heresies, and he offended Sapor the Persian king, and the Magi, by innovating and pretending to reform

reform the Zoroastrian doctrines and ceremonies, and was forced to fly his country.

Hormizdas, son and successor of Sapor, favoured him ; but a king who reigned afterwards is said to have put him to death, and his disciples were then persecuted in Persia.

His heresy died not with him ; it spread itself in Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Greece, Africa, and Spain.

Most of the ancient heresies were a mixture of philosophy, Greek or Oriental, and of Christianity.

The most ancient sects in Christianity, after the Judaising Christians, were the *Ebionites* and the *Docetæ*, and they were directly opposite : the first denied the divinity, and the second the humanity of Jesus Christ. St John seems to have had them both in view, asserting against the first that *the Word was God*, and against the second that *the Word was made flesh*.

Manes borrowed and adopted many notions of heretics who had appeared before him, of the *Docetæ*, and of Basilides, Marcion, Valentinus, Bardesanes.

It is not fair to charge those who held two principles with admitting two gods, which they constantly disclaimed. All the dualists in general held that there was only one God, and looked upon the evil principle as upon a *dæmon* unworthy of the name of God.

The Manichæans detested evil spirits, and never paid them any honour, nor did they invoke angels or saints, but they were constant and assiduous in prayer to God.

They imagined God to be extended and *corporeal*, but not *material*, and not present where the evil substance

substance was, yet infinitely extended every where else.

They thought that matter was endued with sense and perception, but not with any morally good quality, and that from this matter the devil was formed, not from eternity, but in time.

They were not fatalists, or not more so than many Christians have been ; they held a liberty in the soul to do well or ill, and also the doctrine of original sin, of divine assistance, and of the necessity of infant-baptism.

When they endeavoured to prove from the New Testament, that Jesus Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary, and had not a human body, they had recourse to miserable shuffle and chicanery, receiving the words of the sacred writers when they could wrest them to their own purpose, and rejecting them when they could not.

In their morals they seem to have been as good as most of their contemporaries, and by no means scandalous ; yet in this point they met with cruel usage, and were charged with shocking \* impurities and abominations in their religious ceremonies, and in celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Augustin having reproached the Manichæans with being no other than pagan schismatics, who had separated themselves from the body of the Gentiles, but had retained their superstitions and their idolatry ; Faustus the Manichæan replies, “ The Pagans serve  
“ the Deity by temples, images, altars, victims, per-  
“ fumes. As for me, I serve him in another manner,  
“ and

\* " Ἄνδρες ᾧ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐνθυμιασμοῖς ἐνθυμέσθωσαν, καὶ γυναῖκες τὰ ἐν ἀφέ-  
δρσι. Cyril. Hier. *Cat.* vi. Such remarks are not fit to be  
inserted in a sermon or catechism.



“ and have quite another notion of the worship which  
 “ is agreeable to him : It is I myself, if I be worthy  
 “ of it, who am the reasonable temple of God. I re-  
 “ ceive in me Jesus Christ, his Son, the living image  
 “ of the Divine Majesty. A soul instructed in the  
 “ truth is God’s altar ; and as to the honours and sa-  
 “ crifices due to him, I hold them to consist of pure  
 “ and pious prayers. How then can I be a schisma-  
 “ tical Pagan ?”

In this description we may discern the worship of the Christian church, before it was altered by the mixture of numberless Pagan or Judaical ceremonies, and corrupted by secular pride. So that if Faustus be not an audacious liar, which there is no reason to think, there was nothing reprehensible in the Manichæan worship. Manichæus, who separated himself from the Catholic Church in the third century, retained the worship as he found it, and transmitted it to his followers, whilst the Catholics altered it every day by new superstitions.

This also is what Faustus fails not to retort upon Augustin, and to represent the Catholics as schismatics who, having separated themselves from the Gentiles, had retained many of their errors and superstitions. “ You have substituted, says he, your *Ag-*  
 “ *pæ* to the sacrifices of the Pagans, and to their idols  
 “ your martyrs, whom you serve with the very same  
 “ honours. You appease the shades of the dead  
 “ with wine and feasts ; you celebrate the solemn  
 “ festivals of the Gentiles, their calends and their  
 “ solstices ; and as to their *manners*, those you have  
 “ retained without any alteration. Nothing distin-  
 “ guishes you from the Pagans, except that you hold  
 “ your assemblies apart from them.”

There

There is in these accusations some exaggeration and falsehood ; but it must be confessed that there is also some truth, and that Paganism had already begun to enter along with the Pagans into the church. It increased greatly in process of time.

The \* *Valdenses* and the *Albigenses* were persecuted and massacred, under the pretence of being Manichæans, A. D. 1022. which cruelty continued in Europe long afterwards against persons falsely accused of this heresy.

It has been for a long time a kind of merit to accuse, and even to calumniate heretics, and a crime to excuse them. Why should a man engage in their defence, unless he be engaged in their errors ? This spirit and temper passed from the Jews to the Christians, and hath continued to this day : and so far is it carried, that to commend the learning, the eloquence, the abilities, the virtues of some illustrious sectary, is to be a favourer of heretics, and to tread the paths that lead to excommunication. The learned world is well acquainted with this ecclesiastical policy, and not ignorant of its reasons.

Upon a fair examination, it will appear that no part of history hath been more falsified and misrepresented than that which relates to sects and heresies. The frantic extravagances, the strange impurities, the detestable abominations which have been imputed to many societies who invoked the holy name of Jesus Christ,

\* Beausobre wrote a history of these persecuted Christians and of the Reformation in Germany, which, as I am informed, is in the hands of his relations. If they would offer proposals for printing it by subscription, it is to be hoped that all lovers of literature would join to recommend and encourage the undertaking. I can answer for one, though an inconsiderable person.

Christ, appear to me as so many outrages done to Christianity, and I cannot read without indignation those evidently fabulous stories of ancient sects, charged with monstrous errors, and infamous ceremonies. All this is the effect of blind zeal, weak credulity, precipitation, and blunder. For what more specious argument against Christianity, than this multitude of sects, seeming to vie with one another which should have the honour to invent the most absurd opinions, and the most profane and ungodly rites? The Pagan philosophers failed not to make their advantage of it, and by it to expose Christianity to the contempt and hatred of the people. It is true that the philosophers who passed over from Judaism and Paganism to Christianity, corrupted the simplicity of the gospel, and turned it into a contentious religion, and filled it with unedifying speculations: but as to impure and abominable mysteries, either they who practised them were not Christians but true Pagans, or those pretended mysteries were fable and fiction.

The Christians accused Manes of being a magician upon very slender grounds. If he had done what Saint Macarius did, there would have been more reason for the suspicion. Palladius, in his history of this monk, tells us that having interrogated a human skull, the skull answered him, and let him into all the mystery of the state of the dead. It must be confessed that this miracle hath a very magical air, and that, without the best attestations in the world of being a sound Catholic, whosoever should do as much in the territories of the holy inquisition, would run a great risque of being sent to see whether the skull had given a true account.

Fasting is a kind of austerity too much esteemed

in the East, to have been neglected by the Manichæans. The Syrians in general, under which name I comprehend all the communions of the Levant, and the nations beyond Syria, are naturally very austere. Thence it came to pass that monkery, born and nursed in Egypt, made a great and rapid progress amongst the Syrians: thence the *Stylitæ*, so famous in those parts, whom some heretics called *holy birds*, and *martyrs in the air*. The Easterns are very sober, and in Persia the sobriety of the Westerns would be accounted no better than intemperance. The Syrians are perhaps the greatest fasters in the universe. Of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, they have one hundred and sixty of fixed fasts, without counting the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday observed in all eastern communions. I cannot forbear citing on this occasion a passage from the moral system of the *Guebres*, or ancient Persians. “When  
 “ others keep a fast, the meaning is, that they eat  
 “ nothing before dinner: our fast consists in endea-  
 “ vouring to restrain the organs of our body, our  
 “ hands, our eyes, our tongues from all sin. It is  
 “ better to abstain from concupiscence and vice, than  
 “ from food.” This indeed is the fast recommended by the prophets, but it is the least brilliant, and the most difficult, and not at all calculated to please hypocrites.

Thus far from Beausobre, to which I add:

Manes drew up a theological system, and entered into a minute detail of things transacted before Adam, for which he had no proofs to give from Scripture or from reason, and therefore thought it convenient to pretend to inspiration. If a man had asked him, where wast *thou* when the *dæmons* brake prison, and  
 fought



fought with the *first man* and with the *living spirit*? He must have replied, The Lord hath revealed these things to his servant Manes. To which the other might have said; foretell us then future events, and work some miracles, that we may be satisfied of thy mission, and then it will be time enough to take thy marvellous doctrines into consideration.

It may seem strange that he had disciples; but it will seem so only to those who consider not what passes in the world. Manes was bold, ingenious, learned, and insinuating; but men, who resembled him in nothing besides effrontery, have found admirers and followers.

Jerom says, *Nullus potest hæresin, struere, nisi qui ardentis ingenii est, et habet dona naturæ, quæ a Deo artifice sunt creata.* It is usually as Jerom observes; but to this general rule there are exceptions. *Multum refert in quæ tempora cujusque virtus inciderit.* Sometimes the most frantic enthusiast, or the most absurd and unintelligible mortal shall be the author of a doctrine or of a system, and shall beget sons and daughters after his own image and similitude. True it is that such a sect seldom holds out for above half a century, or descends beyond the second generation; as amongst the brutes, a mule, whose sire is an ass, leaves no posterity, and is the last of the family.

The heresies which arose amongst Christians, admitted the truth of the Christian religion, and were a sort of Christianity, though sometimes so corrupted and adulterated as hardly to deserve that appellation. Mohammedism itself made some concessions to the Jews and to the Christians; and if the author of it had denied the divine mission of Moses and of Christ, he would not have gathered five disciples. Christia-

nity on the contrary entered into no composition with Paganism, but absolutely condemned the whole system of idolatry, and so had stronger prejudices to contend with, and yet was triumphant.

The Manichæans gave to each man two souls, the one a good, the other a bad one. Clemens Alexandrinus mentions an odd and ridiculous notion held by some heretics, that God made man down to the navel, and that the rest of him was made by another power.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἄλλοι τινὲς κινήθητες μικροὶ καὶ ὑπίδατοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ διαφόρων δυνάμεων πλασθῆναι λέγουσι, καὶ τὰ μὲν μέχρι ὀμφαλῷ θεοδεσέρας τέχνης εἶναι· τὰ ἔνεσθε δὲ, τῆς ἡττονος· ἣ δὲ χάριν, ὀρέγεσθαι συνεσίας. *Hinc moti aliqui alii, pusilli et nullius pretii, dicunt formatum fuisse hominem a diversis potestatibus: et quæ sunt quidem usque ad umbilicum, esse artis divini-  
nioris; quæ autem subter, minoris: qua de caussa coitum quoque appetere.* Strom. iii. p. 526.

Theodoret says that the Eunomians, as well as the Marcionites, held that there were two principles, and that the lower parts of the human body came from the evil principle. He probably misrepresents the Eunomians, for what hath Arianism to do with Manichæism? Eunomius was an Arian indeed, and the father of an Arian sect; yet as far as we can judge from his writings, some of which are still extant and have escaped burning, he was no more a Manichæan than Epiphanius, or Athanasius, or Jerom, or Theodoret.

*Theodoritus L. iv. Hæreticarum fabularum cap. 3. inter alia Eunomianis tribuit, quod et ipsi cum Marcione duo rerum principia, malum et bonum, statuerint, et inferiores partes a malo principio ortas, et hinc non totum baptizandum esse hominem docuerint. Cui congruit quod S. Ambrosius Eunomianos jungit Marcionistis, L. i. de officiis*

*officiis c. 2. ad quem locum conferendæ notæ Monachor. Benedictin. Tom. ii. p. 51. Fabricius Bibl. Gr. viii. 251.*

*Eunomius ritus baptismi immutavit, qua de re accisatum fuisse fatetur Philostorgius. Testis potentissimus mutationis est Epiphanius : Qui jam baptizati sunt, iterum baptizat Eunomius, non modo qui a Catholicis, aut ab aliis hæresibus, sed eos etiam qui ab ipsismet Arianis deficiunt. Repetiti porro illius baptismatis ea formula est, “ In nomine Dei increati, et in nomine “ Filii creati, et in nomine Spiritus sanctificantis, et a creato Filio procreati.” Aliam tamen adhibuisse formulam in Theodorito legimus : Dicit non oportere ter immergere eum qui baptizatur, nec Trinitatem invocare, sed semel baptizare in mortem Christi. Risum an lacrymis prosequenda, quæ de Eunomiani baptismi ritibus a Veteribus sunt memoræ mandata ? Epiphanius : Sunt qui narrent, quotquot ab iis denuo baptizantur in caput demergi, pedibus in sublime porrectis, et sic iuramentum adigi, nunquam se ab illius hæresi discessuros. Observat et Nicetas : Longissimâ fasciâ, eum in usum paratâ consecratâque, hominem a pectore, usque ad extremos pedum articulos involvebant, tum deinde superiores corporis partes aqua præluebant. Cujus ritus causa hæc fuit, quod inferioribus corporis partibus pollui aquam arbitrabantur. Tantum superstitio potuit suadere malorum ? Baptizatos ad pectus usque aqua madefaciunt, inquit Theodoritus, reliquis autem partibus corporis, tanquam abominandis, aquam adhibere prohibent. Discipulis Eunomii Ecclesias visitare moris non erat. Omnes sectatores ejus Basilicas Apostolorum et Martyrum non ingrediuntur, ut scilicet mortuum adorent Eunomium, cujus libros majoris authoritatis arbitrantur*

trantur quam Evangelia. Hieronymus. *Neque castioris doctrinâ mores fuere, si vera de Ætio prædicat Epiphanius* : Cum quidam ob stuprum feminæ illatum accusarentur, et ab aliis damnarentur, nihil illum commotum : sed factum risu et ludibrio prosequentem dixisse, Nulius hoc esse momenti : corporis enim hanc esse necessitatem. *S. Basnage Ann. ii. 861.*

Observe that the testimonies of Epiphanius and of Theodoret, concerning the form of Eunomian baptism, contradict each other. We may suppose that the Eunomians used only one *immersion*, or rather *super-infusion*, and that they baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as they were plainly directed to do by the Scriptures, to which they paid as much regard as the Consubstantialists.

When Epiphanius says of their baptism, *sunt qui narrent*, we may be sure that proofs ran very low with him.

The Eunomians seem to have been of opinion that it was not necessary for persons to be plunged all over in water, and that it was not decent for them to be stripped at the performance of this religious rite. They therefore only uncovered them to the breast, and then poured water upon their heads. This was enough to give their adversaries a pretext (though a poor one,) to calumniate them, and to call them Manichæans, and to charge them with holding that the lower parts of the body were made by the devil.

That they worshipped Eunomius, and placed his writings above the New Testament, and despised the martyrs, are some of Jerom's usual figures of rhetoric, and arts of controversy, to set the populace against the Eunomians : He might as well have said that they  
had



had cloven feet, and rode upon broom-sticks in the air.

S. Basnage gives too much credit to such vague and improbable accusations. Epiphanius, a dealer in hearsays, was told by somebody, that *Ætius*, an Arian bishop, talked loosely about fornication, and made a jest of it. *Ergo*, the Eunomians and the Arians were as corrupted in their manners, as in their principles. What a weak and halting inference from precarious premises !

If the Eunomians rebaptized those who had already been baptized by Christians, they were much to be blamed for it ; but the same fault was committed by Athanasius and by those Consubstantialists who rejected Arian baptism as invalid and null.

I know not whether this Manichæan conceit of a double soul suggested to the first Lord Shaftsbury an ingenious thought. “ He was wont to say, that there “ was in every one two men, the wise and the fool- “ ish, and that each of them must be allowed his “ turn. If you would have the wise, the grave, “ and the serious always to rule and have the sway, “ the fool would grow so peevish and troublesome, that “ he would put the wise man out of order, and make “ him fit for nothing : He must have his times of “ being let loose to follow his fancies and play his “ gambols, if you would have your business go on “ smoothly.” *Locke’s Memoirs*. From such a passage as this, some of the ancients would have concluded that Shaftsbury was a Manichæan.

Manes placed the Father in heaven, the Son in the sun and moon, and the Holy Ghost in the air ; and in this notion of the Son, or the *Λόγος*, he seems to have adopted what the Persians held concerning Mithras.

By

By the account of Sozomen, ii. 9, &c. it appears that in the fourth century the sun was the favourite deity of the Persians, as he had been of old, and he whom they most worshipped. The learned and philosophical Persians might perhaps honour the sun only as the symbol of the divinity ; but the multitude without question, terminated their worship in the sun, and he was their god, not the supreme, but the next to him.

The Oriental theology contains some traces of a trinity. We find in the Chaldæan or Zoroastrian oracles, which were published by Stanley, and then by Le Clerc in his philosophical works,

Πάντι δ' ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει Τριάς, ἧς Μόνας ἄρχει.

*Toto enim in mundo lucet Trinitas, cujus Unitas initium est.*

But this oracle seems to be the forgery or interpolation of some Christian, or some Platonic philosopher, and the whole collection to be not only a stupid and senseless rhapsody, but spurious, and of no authority.

The Manichæan notion that the souls of the righteous went to the moon, agrees well enough with the Stoical doctrine, thus delivered by Lucan ix. 6.

*Quodque patet terras inter, lunæque meatus,*

*Semidei Manes habitant, quos ignea virtus*

*Innocuos vita, patientes ætheris imi*

*Fecit, et æternos animam collegit in orbes.*

See Lipsius *Phys. Stoic.* iii. 14.

Manichæus, says Augustin, thought that the moon was made of pure water, and the Sun of pure fire. He would have been surprised, if he had been informed that the moon has neither water nor atmosphere.

The Manichæans held that all should terminate in good, as far as human souls are concerned. Some of  
the

the *Dualists* seem also to have supposed that all moral and natural evil should cease at last, and the evil principle be abolished. But this opinion, if strictly considered, is by no means consistent with the doctrine of two principles; for if evil be unoriginated and self-existing, it must be indestructible, and though its modifications may be varied, it will remain in one shape or other: yet the destruction of *Arimanius* and *Hades*, and the future felicity of mankind is so set forth by some Dualists\*.

The perfect Manichæans abhorred wine, which they called *the gall of the prince of darkness*. Others before them had held wine in abomination, as being *the blood of the giants*. "Ἡρξάνθη δὲ πίνειν ἀπὸ Ψαμμήλιν, πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔπινον οἶνον, ὃ δὲ ἔσπευδον, ὡς, φίλιον θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς αἵμα τῶν πολεμιστῶν ὡς τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐξ ὧν οἶναι πετρίων καὶ τῇ γῇ (συμμιγέντων ἀμπέλους γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἔκφρονας ποιεῖ καὶ παραπλῆγας, ἅτε δὴ τῶν προγόνων τῷ αἵματι ἐμπιπταμένους. *Bibere autem cæperunt a Psammeticho, cum neque bibissent ante, neque Dîs libassent vinum, non id gratum Dîs rati, sed sanguinem eorum qui aliquando bellum Dîs intulissent: ex quorum cadaveribus terræ permixtis putant vites esse ortas. Itaque etiam ebrietas insanos facit et abalienat mente, impletis hominibus sanguine suorum majorum.* Plutarch *de Iside*.

Perhaps

\* "Ἐπεισι δὲ χρόνος εἰμαρμένος, ἐκ ᾧ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον λοιμὸν ἐπάγρηκα καὶ λιμὸν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνάγκη φθαρῆναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐπιπέδου καὶ ὁμαλῆς γενομένης, ἓνα βίον καὶ μίαν πολίτειαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων καὶ ὁμογλώσσων ἀπάντων γενέσθαι. Plutarch. *de Isid*.

Τέλος ἀπολείπεσθαι [ἀπολεῖσθαι] τὸν Ἄδην, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἰθρώπας εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιάν ποιεῖν τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον [μηχανησόμενον] θεὸν ἡρεμῶν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνῳ καλῶς [χρόνον ἄλλως] μὲν ὃ πολὺν τῷ θεῷ, ὥσπερ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτρον. Theopompus, *Ibid*.

Perhaps Androcydes had this fable in view; *Androcydes sapientia clarus ad Alexandrum Magnum scripsit, intemperantiam ejus cohibens: Vinum poturus, Rex, memento te bibere sanguinem Terræ.* Plinius xiv. 5.

Jerom, Ambrose, and other fathers have declaimed against matrimony, and recommended monkish abstinence, almost as much as Manes, and have employed arguments as insignificant as those of the heretic.

Philosophy, natural, moral, and theological, hath received such great improvements in this and the last century, by the labours of the learned, and particularly the learned of this nation, \* and the Manichæan hypothesis is so very weak in all its parts, that there is no danger in exposing it fairly and impartially to public view, and no occasion for the mean artifice of misrepresenting it, and of charging its favourers with † follies and enormities of which they were not guilty.

To suppose that matter, which is limited, dispersed, passive, and ever-divisible, is self-existing, independent, endued with sense, perception, life, and motion, essentially evil, and necessarily vitious: to add to this the spontaneous generation of evil dæmons and other evil beings out of this matter: to suppose God corporeally extended, and excluded from those parts of space which are occupied by body, but in all other respects perfect, is a system so unphilosophical, that it can never hold up its head or make its fortune in these days, or, at least, it can never be adopted by men of any sense and judgment.

Milton,

Cudworth, Boyle, Locke, Newton, &c.

† See in Bayle's Dict. the *Adamites* and the *Turlupins*, who probably have been wronged as well as the *Manichæans*.



Milton judiciously introduces Satan talking of his origin and generation according to the Manichæan system : v.

*That we were form'd then, say'st thou ? and the  
work*

*'Of secondary hands, by task transferred  
From Father to his Son ? strange point and new !  
Doctrine which we would know whence learned :  
who saw*

*When this creation was ? remember'st thou  
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being ?  
We know no time when we were not as now ;  
Know none before us : self-begot, self-raised  
By our own quickening power, when fatal course  
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature  
Of this our native heav'n.*

Bayle took a singular delight in adorning and improving the Manichæan objections against the doctrine of one self-existing principle, and endeavoured to shew, that, upon the supposition that God is the author of all things, it is impossible to defend his wisdom and his goodness against the difficulties which arise from his causing or permitting natural and moral evil. On the other hand he was very willing to allow that the Manichæan system was indefensible. The result of all this was, according to him, the triumph of scepticism, and the futility of human reason.

Many replies were made, and amongst others Le Clerc undertook to defend the justice, wisdom, and goodness of God against him, first in his *Parrhasiana*, and then in his *Bibliothèque Choisie* : in which controversy he had manifestly the advantage over Bayle.

A. D. 250.

A. D. 250. Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, in a letter to Fabius bishop of Antioch, relates to him the following story : “ There was in our city an old  
 “ Christian, one Serapion, whose conduct in other  
 “ respects had ever been unblameable and exemplary,  
 “ but who in the persecution had deserted, and afterwards  
 “ had often begged to be forgiven and re-admitted.  
 “ His petition was rejected, and no regard was shewed to him,  
 “ because he had sacrificed. Some time after he was taken very ill,  
 “ and lay for three days senseless and speechless. On the fourth  
 “ day he came to himself a little, and calling to him his grandson,  
 “ Child, said he, how long will you detain me here ? hasten,  
 “ I beseech you, and release me. Go, call me one of the presbyters. When he  
 “ had said this, he lost his speech again. The boy hastened to call  
 “ a presbyter. It was in the night time, and the presbyter himself  
 “ was sick. But as I had ordered that pardon should be granted  
 “ to all those who lay a dying, (especially if they had humbly  
 “ begged it before) that they might depart in faith and hope,  
 “ he gave the child a portion of the Eucharist, and ordered him to \*  
 “ dip it *in wine*, and give it to the dying man. As the youth  
 “ was drawing near, the old man recovered his senses, and said,  
 “ You are come, my child, but the presbyter, I know, could not  
 “ come himself. Do as you were ordered, and give me my  
 “ dismissal. So he received the eucharist, and instantly gave up  
 “ the ghost. Doth it not appear from this that he had his  
 “ time prolonged till he was thus dismissed in  
 “ peace,

\* ἀποδέξαι κελύσας. Valesius, *aqua intinctam*. But I think, with Louth, it should rather be rendered, *vino tinctam*.

“ peace, and that his crime was remitted for the sake  
 “ of the many good actions which he had performed  
 “ in the long course of a virtuous life ?” *Apud Euseb.* vi. 44.

If this wonderful thing happened just as Dionysius hath related it, it tended to a good and edifying purpose, at a time when it was matter of debate in what manner *lapsed Christians* should be treated by the church ; and it shewed that sinners truly penitent were not to be harshly used by their brethren, and excluded from the hopes of salvation, and that God was ready to receive those who with humility, and sorrow, and resolutions of amendment returned to him.

This Dionysius of Alexandria was one of Origen’s disciples ; he is called by Jerom, *Vir eloquentissimus*, he was held in great esteem by Eusebius, and by all the ancient Christians ; and from the large extracts of his writings produced by Eusebius, he appears to have been a learned, critical, acute, ingenious, elegant author. He was of an illustrious family, had received a polite education, had been a professor of rhetoric in the days of his Paganism, and afterwards was a bishop and a confessor.

He pretends to have had some visions and revelations ; but whether it was really so, or whether he thought such sort of fictions harmless and lawful, or whether he had a warm imagination and was a little enthusiastical, it is impossible now to determine.

Some of the visions and revelations of those days seem to have been vouchsafed, to teach men that they might fly in time of persecution ; but such admonitions were not extremely necessary, since the dictates  
 of

of nature and reason taught it, and the Gospel confirmed those dictates :

*Scimus, et hoc nobis non altius imprimet Ammon.*

Cyprian was made bishop of Carthage, A. D. 248. It hath been said of him that he was fond of spiritual power, and it cannot entirely be denied : but he had factious] ecclesiastics and troublesome schismatics to deal with, which might lead him to insist somewhat the more on his prerogatives ; and it is certain that in one point he was for restraining episcopal encroachments. He highly approved and recommended the method of appealing to the people in the election of bishops, and of asking their consent and approbation, and of allowing them a negative. He thought that the bishops of a province had no right to make a cabal, and elect a bishop secretly by themselves, and obtrude him upon the church. But after Christianity was the established and the ruling religion, great inconveniences, and tumults, and seditions, and massacres arose from the popular elections of bishops ; and ecclesiastical preferments became more \* lucrative, and were thought more worthy of a battle, or of mean tricks and sollicitations.

—*omnium rerum vicissitudo est.*

Cyprian upon all occasions † consulted his own clergy and people, and desired their consent. The bishops of Rome at that time began to take upon them

\* Cum ligneis uteremur calicibus, aureos sacerdotes habebamus : nunc aureos habemus calices, ligneos sacerdotes. *Bonifacius* Decret. part. iii. de Consecrat. distinct. i. can. 44.

† *Episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet, et civium testimonium quærat*, say the canons of the fourth council of Carthage A. D. 398. if they be genuine. The canon however is very reasonable.



them and to domineer ; and Stephen, dealing about his censures and excommunications, behaved himself with indecency and arrogance towards Cyprian and many others in the affair of rebaptizing.

In a council of Carthage consisting of eighty-seven bishops, Cyprian said to them, *None of us ought to set himself up as a bishop of bishops, or pretend tyrannically to constrain his colleagues, because each bishop hath a liberty and a power to act as he thinks fit, and can no more be judged by another bishop, than he can judge another. But we must all wait for the judgment of Jesus Christ, to whom alone belongs the power to set us over the church, and to judge of our actions.* Du Pin inserted these words in his *Biblioth.* i. p. 164. to buffet the pope by the hand of Cyprian.

Many passages there are in Cyprian's writings containing high notions of episcopal authority and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Whilst he strenuously opposed the domination of one pope, he seemed in some manner to make as many popes as bishops, and mere *Arithmetical Noughts* of the rest of the Christians ; which yet, I believe, was not his intent.

In the persecution under Decius, he fled from Carthage, and was proscribed, and his effects were seized. He was censured by some persons as a deserter of his flock ; but the decent constancy and the Christian piety with which he laid down his life afterwards, afford a presumption that he had not retired for want of courage.

His death was lamented even by many of the Pagans, whose esteem he had gained by his affable and charitable behaviour.

He often talks of his visions and revelations, some of which he had on occasions which in all appearance  
were

were small and inconsiderable enough, whilst he had none to guide him and set him right in points of more importance. He appeals to these visions, and makes use of them to justify his conduct. It would be dealing too severely with him, considering his character in other respects, to ascribe this entirely to artifice and policy, and it would be more candid and charitable to suppose, that with much piety he had a mixture of African enthusiasm, and that what he thought upon in the day, he dreamed of at night, and the next morning took his dreams for divine admonitions. Some perhaps will chuse to leave it ambiguous——*dum Elias venerit.*

In his treatise *de Lapsis*, he relates some strange miracles, one of which is, that the *consecrated bread* was turned into a *cinder* \*, in the hands of a profane person, who thus found, according to the proverb, *Pro thesauro carbones.*

When

Macarius of Alexandria, a celebrated monk and saint of the fourth century, is said to have related this story, that when the monks approached to the holy communion, and stretched out their hand to receive it, devils under the figure of little ugly Æthiopian boys (who were only visible to Macarius) prevented the officiating Priest, and gave to some of them coals instead of the consecrated bread, which bread, though to bystanders it seemed to be given by the Priest and received by these monks, returned back again to the altar: whilst other Monks, who were more pious and better disposed, when they approached to receive the sacrament, chased the evil spirits away, who fled with great terror and precipitation, because an angel, who assisted at the altar, put his hand upon the hand of the Presbyter when he delivered the sacrament to these good men. This account is in the *Vitæ Patrum*, and inserted, with a thousand more stories of the same kind, in Tillemont, *H. E.* viii. 641. To such a degree of boldness of feigning miracles, and the facility of admitting them, was carried in those days!

When the Corinthians shewed a want of reverence and decency in receiving the Lord's Supper, what was the consequence? *For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.* The correction was solemn and tremendous: but of these *transformations* what can we say? and how can we give credit to them?

There is a story of the same kind, of *bread* turned into a *stone*, related by Sozomen. An heretic of the sect of the Macedonians had a wife of the same sect. The man was converted by Chrysostom, and used many arguments, in vain, to bring over his stubborn spouse. At last he told her, that if she would not receive the Lord's Supper with him at church, he would live with her no longer. She consented, but was resolved to deceive him and instead of eating the bread which the minister gave her, she took some which she had brought with her; but as she was biting it, it was turned into a stone in her mouth, a stone neither in substance or colour like other stones, and bearing upon it the impression of her teeth, &c. which made her repent, and publicly confess her crime. viii. 5. This happened about the end of the fourth century, and Sozomen can supply us with an hundred miracles as good. His sending unbelievers to the church to look at the stone which was kept there as a rarity, was very judicious.

We have an account of a far prettier and stranger stone than this, in Morhof, who had it from some editions of Thuanus: *Mirabilis istius lapidis historia animo obversatur, Regi Gallicæ Henrico secundo per ignotum aliquem Barbarum oblata. Illam quidem narrat Thuanus, in prima illa editione minori Parisina part. i. lib. 5. pag. 453. Reperitur et in Francofurtensi prima*

*in fol. alteraque octavæ formæ lib. vi. pag. ibi 217. hic 286. Sed in ceteris editionibus verba illa, nescio quam ob causam sublata. Pipinus, ad cujus testimonium provocat Thuanus, de eo ita ad Mizaldum scribit : Nuper ex India Orientali Regi nostro allatum hic vidimus lapidem, lumine et fulgore mirabiliter coruscantem ; quique totus veluti ardens et incensus incredibili lucis splendore præfulget micatque. Is jactis quoquo versus radiis ambientem circumquaque aërem luce, nullis oculis fere tolerabili, latissime complet. Est etiam (quod bene notari velim) terræ impatientissimus : si cooperiri coneris, sua sponte et vi, facto impetu, confestim evolat in sublime. Contineri vero inclusive loco nullo angusto nulla potest hominum arte, sed ampla liberaque loca duntaxat amare videtur. Summa in eo puritas, summus nitor : nulla sorde aut labe coinquinatur. Figuræ species nulla ei certa, sed inconstans et momento commutabilis : cumque sit aspectu longe pulcherrimus, contrectari sese tamen non sinit, et si diutius adnitaris, vel obstinatius agas, incommodum affert : sicuti multi suo non levi malo, me præsentem sunt experti. Quod si quid fortassis ex eo enixius conando adimitur, aut detrahitur, nam durus admodum non est, fit, dictum mirum, nihilo minor. Hæc Pipinus, quæ miranda sunt, &c. Morhof. Polyhist. L. i. c. 13. p. 127.*

Some part of this description may suit well enough with a *phosphorus* : but there seems to be a double meaning, and perhaps by the *stone* we are to understand an *allegorical* and *philosophical stone*, representing *Urim* and *Thummin*, *light* and *truth* ; a present fit to be made to kings, though seldom acceptable to them ; a jewel whose lustre is sometimes too bright and dazzling for mortal eyes ; which cannot be suppressed, diminished,



diminished, and adulterated, but will prevail and triumph at last ;

*Mersès profundo pulcrrior evenit :*

*Luctere, multa proruit integrum*

*Cum laude victorem :*

and which it is not safe to handle too much, for fear of burning ones fingers.

Is there any absurdity in supposing that this *precious oriental stone*, which would not bear confinement, was *The Holy Bible*, a copy or translation of which might have been presented to the king? The third and beautiful edition of the New Testament, by Robert Stephen, was printed with royal types, by the king's printer, and dedicated to the king, to Henry the Second.

*Mizaldus* (in French *Antoine Mizaud*) wrote many books, as *De Aeromantia*, *De secretis hortorum*, *Planetologia*, *Secret de la Lune*, *Centuries*, &c. and was a trifling author, and a philosopher *minorum gentium*. The description which *Pipinus* gives of the *stone*, besides its allegorical meaning, contains an oblique banter of the *philosophers stone*.

One *Comiers* wrote a book called *Traité des Phosphores*, in which he is of opinion that this *stone* was a *phosphorus*: *Clarissimus Autor—varia phosphorum artificialium genera—describit, atque ut tam admirabilis inventi gloriam patrice suce vindicet, jam olim Fernelio, Hernici secundi Medico famigeratissimo cognitum fuisse modum parandi phosphorum siccum fulgurantem, qui nunc, communiter Kraftio adscribitur, et de ejus stupendis effectibus ipsum prolixè ac perspicue, lib. ii. de abditis rerum causis, c. 17. egisse affirmat. Is enim lapis Indicus lucidissimus, quem, Bononiæ, Regi oblatum Thuanus memorat, et cujus mentionem Fernelius loc. alleg.*

*facit, juxta Comierium Phosphorus fuit, a Fernelio arte factus, et per hominem ex India venientem in aulam missus, ut tanto pluris aestimaretur, nec, quum ejus compositio vulgaris facilisque esset, vilesceret. Verum an hæc ita recte dicta sint, viderint alii. Certe qui Fernelium leget, haud obscure sentiet, historiolum de lapide ex India allato ænigma ignis et flammæ esse, quo fortasse Fernelius aliquibus suæ artis ac sectæ viris illudere voluit. Acta Erudit. 1684. p. 246.*

Le Clerc hath drawn up an account of Cyprian in his *Bibl. Univ.* xii. 207. See also Barbeyrac *Morale des Peres*, p. 131.

I would willingly have paid a greater deference to the authority and testimony of this pious father and martyr concerning visions and miracles; and if I dissent from him, it is not without some reluctance. I have no notion of differing from worthy persons, living or dead, for the sake of *singularity* or of *contradiction*, in which I can discern no charms, and neither pleasure nor profit. To an *opinion* commonly received, and received by good men, when I cannot assent, I am inclined to say,

*Invitus, Regina, tuo de litore cessi.*

But alas! *opinion* is a queen who will not accept of such excuses:

*Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat;*

*Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,*

*Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.*

Origen and other ancient Christians ascribe to our Saviour this saying, *Γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται, τὰ μὲν ἀποδοκιμάζοντες, τὸ δὲ καλὸν κατέχοντες.* that is, *Act like skilful bankers, rejecting what is bad, and retaining what is good.* This precept is proper for all who apply themselves to the study of religious antiquities. Good  
and

and bad money is offered to them, and they ought to beware of the coin which will not pass current in the republic of letters, and in the critical world, and of that which is found light when weighed in the balance of the sanctuary.

Felix of Nola is thought to have lived in the days of Cyprian, though that be uncertain. Many miracles were wrought in his behalf, and after his death he wrought them himself in vast abundance; all which rests principally upon the credit of Paulinus bishop of Nola, a writer of the fifth century, as also upon that of Augustin, and Damasus: but their united testimonies are worth just nothing at all in this case, and indeed in any case where miracles are concerned.

The Roman empire under Gallienus, A. D. 262, was terribly afflicted, by civil war, by a multitude of usurpers and petty tyrants, by famine and pestilence, and earthquakes, and an irruption of barbarians on all sides. The behaviour of the Christians in these calamitous times was most excellent and exemplary, as was the compassionate care which they took of the sick and needy, at the hazard and at the expence of their own health, fortunes, and lives, whilst the conduct of the Pagans was the very reverse. *Eusebius* vii. 22.

About this time the Goths, and other savage nations which dwelt by the Danube, took some Christian presbyters captives, and were taken captives by *them*; for these Christians, by the lovely force of a blameless behaviour and a holy life, and by the *miracles* which they wrought, converted many barbarians, and at the same time softened and civilized their manners. So says Sozomen, ii. 6. Eusebius men-

tions it not ; but it is observable that Eusebius is often short and deficient in his account of the transactions in the *western parts*.

Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was deposed for heresy, A. D. 270. If the account given of him by Eusebius be true, which there is no reason to suspect, he well deserved to be turned out of the church even for his wicked behaviour, and for the many proofs which he gave of being only a nominal Christian. *Les Evêques du Concile d'Antioche l'accusèrent de tous les vices ordinaires aux Evêques des grand Sieges*, says Du Pin, very boldly, *Bibl. Eccl.* i. p. 214. It is absurd to suppose that *Paul* was fool enough to call himself *Jesus Christ* ; though some have charged him with it. The bishops who condemned him, accuse him of no such crime ; and if he had been guilty of it, it would have been a circumstance in his favour, and a proof that he had lost his senses. They charge him indeed with affirming that Jesus Christ was a mere man, and with suffering himself to be called an angel come from heaven.

The synod which was assembled to examine the affair of Paul of Samosata, consisted of all the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, who could conveniently meet together. None were excluded. See Eusebius vii. 29, 30.

Arnobius, a valuable author, and of whose works a good edition is much wanted, lived in the time of Diocletian, and wrote about the end of the third century. He was a convert to Christianity, *somniis compulsus*, says Jerom. He makes some objections to paganism, which might have been retorted on Judaism and Christianity. He borrows much from Clemens Alexandrinus : for example, he says to the Pagans,

*Quis*



*Quis ex reliquiis Pelopis compactum esse Palladium prodidit? non vos? Quis Spartanum fuisse Martem? non Epicharmus auctor vester? Quis in Thraciæ finibus procreatum? non Sophocles Atticus, cunctis consentientibus theatris? Quis mensibus in Arcadia tribus et decem vinctum? non Melæ fluminis filius?*

Some words are dropped, which should be restored thus—*theatris? quis in Arcadia? non vos? Quis mensibus tribus et decem vinctum? non Melæ fluminis filius?*  
iv. p. 143.

This is taken from Clemens Alexandrinus, who says, *Mars, according to Epicharmus, was a Spartan; according to Sophocles, a Thracian; as others say, an Arcadian; and, as Homer informs us, was tied neck and heels for thirteen months.* Ὁ ἄλλοπρόσαλλος ἔτος, ἢ ἀνάσσις, ὥς μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος φησι, Σπαρτιάτης ἦν, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ Θρακῆα οἶδεν αὐτὸν ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρκάδα· τῷτον δὲ Ὅμηρος δεδεδόται φητὶν ἐπὶ μῆνας τρισκαίδεκα.

Τλῆ μὲν Ἀρης κ. τ. λ.

Antony, the monk, aged thirty-five years, retired into a desert in Egypt, A. D. 285. Athanasius hath written his history, his visions, his conflicts with devils, the wonders which he wrought, and his great abomination for all heretics, particularly for the Arians. The eastern monks were in general firmly attached to the doctrine established by the Nicene council, upon which account they suffered much under the Arian emperor Valens. *Sozomen* iii. 13, *Socrates* iv. 22. Some modern heretics, so Tillemont calls them, have thought this Life of Antony to be a spurious, or a much corrupted piece, as Rivetus and Basnage in his *Exercitationes*. If they could have fully proved it, they would certainly have done a singular service to the *Manes* of *Athanasius*. Yet Tillemont is quite angry, and

says, *James Basnage, a Calvinist, hath undertaken to prove that this Life is not the work of Saint Athanasius, or that it hath been extremely interpolated and corrupted. He offers no new reason for this assertion that is of the least moment, and nothing remarkable except some silly and stupid, not to say impious jests upon things most holy and most worthy of God.* H. E. viii. p. 700. Now Basnage, *Dissert. Epist.* p. 136. seems to have given into this suspicion, partly through a very favourable opinion of Athanasius, and a persuasion that he could not transmit such things to posterity ; for which reason Tillemont should have treated him more civilly.

Socrates iv. 23. says, that Antony saw the soul of Ammon the monk carried up into heaven by angels, and cites Athanasius for it, who has the very story in his *Life of Antony*. Sozomen relates the same tale i. 14. and is thought to have taken his account of Antony from Athanasius. Du Pin is a little doubtful whether this *Life of Antony* be genuine, but determines for the affirmative. *Bibl.* ii. p. 41. and upon the whole, there is far more reason to receive it as genuine, than to reject it as spurious. *Ex scriptis Athanasii nihil est cui veterum plures testimonium perhibeant. Laudatur a Nazianzeno, Chrysostomo, Palladio, Hieronymo, &c. In tanta existimatione fuit de vita Antonii Liber, ut eo lecto nonnulli ad pietatem accensi fuerint.—Interea faciles largimur puram non esse, sed lutulentam nonnullis in locis fluere. Illud certe magni esse Athanasii credere non possumus.* Antonius bestiam vidit formâ humanâ ad femora usque ; crura et pedes asinum, &c. *S. Basnage Ann.* iii. 38.

Athanasius loved the monks and the monks loved him. One of them said to his disciples, *When you find any fragment of the works of Athanasius, transcribe it ;*  
and

*and if you have no paper, write it upon your garments.* This makes it probable that Athanasius did not neglect to write the Life of Antony, and that he collected every rumour and report which tended to embellish and magnify his friend.

It is a custom with the Arabs, always to give a man a patient hearing who tells romantic stories, and never to contradict him; and this is reckoned amongst them a rule of civility and politeness. By this rule, we must let the *Life of Antony* pass uncensured, reserving to ourselves the liberty not to believe all that is related in it.

Antony, as if he had foreseen the tricks of the reliquemongers, desired to be buried where they might not find him, and make money of him. *Ingressus montem interiorem, quem incolere solebat, post paucos menses in morbum incidit. Tum accersitis duobus Ascetis, qui propter senium laboranti ministrabant, mandata pietatis inculcat, subjungit dein: Si vobis de me cura est, meique tanquam patris non obliviscimini, corpus meum in Ægyptum transferri ne patiamini, ne forte reservent domi suæ. Meum ergo corpus sepelite, terræque contegite, et nemo præter vos locum sepulcri noscat. Vestes meas sic distribuite. Melotem unam date Athanasio Episcopo, cum stragula, quam ab ipso novam accepi, nunc detritam reddo. Serapioni Episcopo alteram date meloten, vobis cilicium servate. Quodque est reliquum, filii, salvete, Antonius enim hinc migrat, non amplius vobiscum moraturus. Finito sermone, postquam sunt ipsum osculati, pedibus ille porrectis, et quasi amicorum adventantium aspectu admodum lætatus, animam exhalavit. Vit. Ant. Illi vero præceptis Abbatis sui obtemperantes, defunctum sepeliunt, in loco, qui, præterquam binis istis Ascetis, cunctis*

*tis ignoratur mortalibus. At, A. D. 561. mira Reliquiariorum sagacitas locum olfecit, ubi sacræ exuvie recondebantur. Id scripto prodit Victor in Chronico, &c. S. Basnage Ann. ii. 834.*

Let us here insert the bold and generous remarks of Melchior Canus, a Dominican monk and a bishop. *Dolenter hoc dico potius quam contumeliose, multo a Laertio vitas Philosophorum severius scriptas, quam a Christianis vitas Sanctorum, longeque incorruptius et integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res dico Imperatorum, sed Martyrum, Virginum, et Confessorum. Illi enim in probis aut Philosophis, aut Principibus, nec vitia, nec suspiciones vitiorum tacent, in improbis vero etiam colores virtutum produnt. Nostri enim plerique, vel adfectibus inserviunt, vel de industria quoque ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me non solum pudeat, sed etiam tædeat. Hos enim intelligo Ecclesie Christi cum nihil utilitatis adtulisse, tum incommodationis plurimum. Nominibus parco, quoniam hujus loci judicium morum etiam est, et non eruditionis tantum, in qua liberior potest esse censura; nam quæ morum est, hæc debet esse et in vivos cautior, et in mortuos reverentior. Certum est autem, qui fecte et fallaciter Historiam Ecclesiasticam scribunt, eos viros bonos atque sinceros esse non posse, totamque eorum narrationem esse aut ad quæstum, aut ad errorem; quorum alterum factum est, alterum perniciosum. Justissima est Ludovici Vivis querela de historiis quibusdam in Ecclesia confictis. Prudenter ille sane ac graviter eos arguit, qui pietatis loco duxerint mendacia pro religione fingere. Id quod et maxime periculosum est, et minime necessarium. Mendaci quippe homini ne verum quidem credere solemus. Quamobrem qui falsis atque mendacibus scriptis mentes mortalium invitare ad Divorum cultum voluere, hi nihil aliud mihi videntur egisse, quam*



*quam ut veris, propter falsa, adimatur fides, et quæ severe ab auctoribus plane veracibus edita sunt, ea etiam revocentur in dubium.*

The words of Ludovicus Vives, to which Melchior Canus refers us are these : *Quæ de (Sanctis) sunt scripta, præter pauca quædam, multis sunt commentis fœdata, dum qui scribit affectui suo indulget, et non quæ egit Divus, sed quæ ille egisse eum vellet, exponit ; ut vitam dictet animus scribentis, non veritas. Fuere qui magnæ pietatis loco ducerent mendaciola pro religione confingere : quod et periculosum est, ne veris adimatur fides propter falsa ; et minime necessarium, quoniam pro pietate nostra tam multa sunt vera, ut falsa tanquam ignavi milites atque inutiles oneri sint magis quam auxilio.* De Tradendis Disciplinis L. v.

“ By all which I have ever read of the old, and  
 “ have seen of the modern monks, I take the prefer-  
 “ ence to be clearly due to the last, as having a more  
 “ regular discipline, more good learning, and less  
 “ superstition amongst them than the first.” Thus  
 Middleton ; and what he says of the modern monks  
 is just and reasonable. Many of them are to be ho-  
 noured for their abilities, erudition, good sense, and  
 humanity.

About A. D. 300, or somewhat sooner, arose a sect called *Hypsistarii*, and afterwards *Cœlicolæ*, who are mentioned in the Theodosian Code, as heretics. They seem to have been persons who, rejecting idolatry, and polytheism, and all revealed religions, admitted only natural religion.

*Dixi Cœlicolas fuisse homines nullam religionem revelatam sive veram sive falsam admittentes, sed solam naturalem, quam Ratio dictat, colentes. Contra quam interpretationem*

*pretationem vir doctus objecit, tales homines ab ævo condito semper extitisse, Honorium vero atque Augustinum de Cælicolis loqui, tanquam de secta nova. At non difficile est hæc in concordiam redigere: Homines quidem singulares, ita de religione sentientes, a priscis temporibus fuerunt; sed secta fuit nova, i. e. seculo demum tertio Cælicolæ seipsos a Gentibus, Judæis et Christianis segregare, et in societatem coire cæperunt, electo Majore seu Patriarcha, et ritu baptismi instituto, quo in Ecclesiam istam novam admitterentur. In his, quos Græci Ὑψιπύστες vocarunt, nomen suum professus erat in juventute Gregorius, pater Gregorii Nazianzeni. Wetstenius Proleg. in N. T. p. 38. Tillemont hath collected what he could find concerning this sect of Deists with their Grand Master, H. E. xiii. 315. It is a wonder that they should have adopted the rite of baptism, unless they did it to appear to the world as a sect of Christians, and to draw in silly people,*

Diocletian's persecution began A. D. 302. It was preceded by a great depravation of manners in the Christian church, both of the clergy and of the laity, says Eusebius. In these times of distress, as many worthy and pious bishops became martyrs and confessors, many unworthy ones were involved in the common calamity, and condemned to servile and infamous employments: and before the rage of the persecution was entirely abated, the Christian church suffered much from internal dissensions, from the cabals of ambitious men who wanted to be bishops, from irregular ordinations, and from schisms even amongst the orthodox and the confessors. Of these evils Eusebius makes slight and cursory mention, declaring that he chose to drop so melancholy a theme. He  
might

might have had good reasons for declining the task ; but we cannot help wishing that we had an accurate and impartial account of the state of the church in those days. The love of governing, and the love of disputing and deciding, have been the parents of innumerable evils. *De Mart. Pal.* 12.

Diocletian's persecution was very severe, and lasted ten years. Eusebius, who lived at that time, hath given us a particular, an affecting, and an invaluable account of the martyrs under those dreadful trials. There was, says he, a youth not twenty years of age brought out to suffer, who stood untied, erect, holding his arms in form of a cross, praying earnestly to God, and never stirring from his place, nor changing posture, nor shewing the least sign of fear ; but full of calm resolution, whilst bears and panthers made up to him, and were roaring about him. The name of this young hero is lost, whilst so many names are preserved in Ecclesiastical History, which might as well have slept in neglected oblivion.

At the same time Apphianus, who was not twenty years old, and who had been instructed by Eusebius, endured for three days together all the torments that diabolical cruelty could contrive. See also the account of the sufferings of Theodosia, who was not eighteen. *Mart. Palæst.* 7.

In the persecution under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Ponticus, a youth of fifteen years, after he had been brought forth day after day, to see the torments which were inflicted on the Christians, suffered them himself, and died with the utmost constancy and resolution. *Euseb.* v. 1.

Amongst other punishments inflicted on the Christians, one was, to crucify them with their head  
downwards,

downwards, *Euseb.* viii. 8. a barbarity which was practised in the days of Seneca, and which perhaps gave occasion to the story that St Peter, at his own request, suffered this kind of martyrdom. *Video istic cruces non unius quidem generis, sed aliter ab aliis fabricatas. Alii capite conversos in terram suspendere, alii per obscæna stipitem egerunt, &c. Seneca Cons. ad Marc.* 20.

Eusebius in his History of Diocletian's persecution is sparing of prodigies ; but later writers have amply supplied that defect, and have mentioned ten thousand miracles, which may be found in Tillemont, *E. H.* v.

What Eusebius relates of this kind, is,

That the wild \* beasts could not be compelled to touch the Christians who were exposed to them, particularly the young martyr whose name is not recorded, who was run through with a sword, and flung into the sea. He speaks as an eye-witness, and appeals to many then living for the truth of his narration. viii. 7.

That when the martyr Apphianus was killed and cast into the sea, a violent tempest suddenly arose, which shook the whole city, and the waves cast his body back on the shore, of which all the inhabitants of Cæsarea were witnesses. *De Mart. Pal.* 4.

*Amne jubet mergi puerum, scelus unda refugit.*

That the bodies of Pamphilus, and of other martyrs who died with him, being exposed to the birds and beasts four days and nights, remained untouched, the divine providence so ordering it, and were honourably interred by the Christians. That is, to use the words of Statius :

*nec*

\* Concerning this forbearance of the beasts, some remarks have been made page 229. It should not be dissembled that, from the accounts given us by Eusebius and others, it appears that some martyrs were assaulted and wounded by wild beasts, and others were not touched by them.



*nec sontis iniqua tyranni*

*Jussa valent ; durant habitus et membra cruentis*

*Inviolata feris, nudoque sub axe jacentes*

*Et nemus, et tristis volucrum reverentia servat.*

The fact, we may suppose, is not to be denied, and as Pamphilus was a most dear and intimate friend of Eusebius, it was natural for the historian to interpret it thus. This, and more than this, might be allowed to sacred friendship and virtuous affection, 11.

That at Cæsarea, when the persecution raged, and the Christians lay up and down unburied, and the earth was strewed with their mangled limbs, though the day was bright and serene, the buildings ran down with drops, and the streets were wet with a sudden dew, as if the earth and elements had wept at the sight of such barbarities. So said the Christians; and perhaps we should have said the same, if we had lived then, and had been in their distressed condition. I doubt not, says Eusebius, that this will be called fiction and trifle by some readers.—But he adventured to record it, nor is there any reason why he should be scorned and insulted on that account, though probably there was nothing in it which did not arise from natural causes. Constantine seems to allude to the same thing, in his edict, speaking of the persecution, τὸ τινικαὐτὰ ἐδάκρυε μὲν ἀναμφιβόλως ἡ γῆ· ὁ δὲ τὰ σύμπαντα περιέχων κόσμος τῷ λύθρῳ χραινόμενός ἀπεκλήετο· ἢ γε μὴν ἡμέρα αὐτῇ, τῷ πίνθει θαύματος ἐνεκαλύπτετο. *Ea tempestate tellus quidem ipsa proculdubio lacrymas edidit: cælum vero quod universa suo ambitu complectitur, cruore inquinatum ingemuit. Ipsa quoque diei lux, præ luctu atque horrore tanti prodigii obscurata est.* Apud Euseb. *Vit. Const.* ii. 52.

Eusebius, in his narration of Romanus, mentions nothing miraculous, *ch.* 2. and yet Prudentius, Chrysostom,

sostom, and Eusebius himself in a Discourse *De Resurrectione*, talk of many and signal miracles on the occasion, as the fire being strangely extinguished in which he was to have been burnt, his speaking plainly after his tongue was cut out, though he had naturally an impediment in his speech, and could not pronounce his own name, &c. Valesius wonders that Eusebius should thus differ from himself; to which it may be replied, that Eusebius the orator thought he might say what Eusebius the historian would not attest, and that his real sentiments must be learned from his history, and not from a sermon or a declamation. Tillemont is not quite fair, and silyly dissembles this silence of Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 206. But it is farther to be observed, that the *Opuscula* of Eusebius, in which is the Discourse *De Resurrectione*, are extant only in Latin; and who knows what tricks the translator has played with them, and whether they be genuine or no? Eusebius is a name which belonged to more than three-score persons, and Cave is of opinion that these *Opuscula* were not written by the historian, and Tillemont himself is inclined, in another place, to give up this discourse, *H. E.* vii. p. 63.

Rufinus in his version of Eusebius added, and left out, and altered what he thought fit, and inserted a long account of the miracles of Gregory Thaumaturgus, of which Eusebius said not a word. The same insupportable licence he took in translating Origen; so that they are not versions, but perversions of the originals. However Rufinus is so far honest, as to own that he uses such liberties. Jerom was guilty of the same fault, and they had nothing to reproach one another with on that score.

*It is agreed that St Jerom may be the greatest saint of all translators, but that he is not the most exact. He hath*

*hath taken liberties which the laws of translation will not admit, and his adversary Rufinus fails not to charge him with it, &c. Baillet, Jug. des Savans.*

Rufinus was *excommunicated* by Pope Anastasius, as an Origenist. He was not so good a *scholar*, but he might be as good a *saint* as Jerom, for any thing that we know to the contrary.

In this persecution Peter and Asclepius, the former a member of the church, the latter a Marcionite bishop, were burnt. *Peter*, says Tillemont, *went to heaven, and Asclepius to hell-fire* \*. But Eusebius more decently and moderately, says, *With Peter suffered Asclepius—through a zeal, as he thought, for piety, but not for that which is according to knowledge: however, they were consumed in one and the same fire.*

Many of the Marcionites suffered martyrdom at different times. Why were these men put to death? Because they were heretics? No; but because they acknowledged Jesus to be the Son of God, and would not renounce him, and sacrifice to idols. See Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* ii. 120.

We read in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, in *Bollandus*, and in the *Menæa*, that *Gelasinus* or *Gelasius*, and *Ardaleo*, two Pantomimes, as they were drolling on the stage, and feigning themselves Christians, were suddenly converted, and suffered martyrdom; and other stories of the same kind are recorded. See Tillemont *H. E.* iv. 418—421. As to these two saints, *Gelasi-*

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nus

\* Will men never be cured of the rash and malicious habit of always seeking in the corruption of the heart the origin of errors, which may be found more naturally and more innocently in the obscurity in which God hath judged it proper to leave certain truths, and in the weakness of the human understanding? *Beausobre*, *Hist. de Manich.* i. p. 28.

*nus*, and *Ardaleo*, (I suppose it should be *Ardelio*,) their names, joined to their profession, make the account suspicious, the one being *Saint Harlequin*, and the other *Saint Jackanapes* : for it is not probable that these were names of men, though the one might act the part of a *Gelasinus*, and the other of an *Ardelio*. *Gelasius* indeed is a name common enough.

In the time of Diocletian, there was a whole legion of Christians, called the *Thebean Legion*, consisting of more than six thousand men, who suffered martyrdom by the orders of Maximian. *Tillemont* H. E. 4. 421. This story hath never wanted patrons, ancient and modern. It hath been defended by *Tillemont*, by *Hickes*, (who would have called any man an *Atheist* for deriding it) and by many others.

As it would not be fair to dissemble the evidence for it, let it be observed that it stands upon the authority of one *Eucherius*, Bishop of Lions, and a writer of the fifth century, who had it from the bishop of Geneva, who had it from *Theodorus*, another bishop, who had the honour and felicity to find the reliques of these martyrs by *revelation*, and perhaps by the *smell* of the *bones*. Thus it terminates in a miracle ; but

*Nil agit exemplum litem quod lite resolvit.*

“ About the time of Diocletian’s persecution, or a  
 “ little after, a council of the eastern churches was  
 “ held at Seleucia, to reform the abuses which *Papas*,  
 “ patriarch of Seleucia had introduced into Ecclesiastical  
 “ discipline, to examine many heavy accusations  
 “ laid against him, and to hear the complaints of the  
 “ bishops, who were justly offended at his insolence.  
 “ *Milles*, bishop of Susa, censured him for it with  
 “ much



much freedom and gravity. Whence arises, said he, this arrogance of yours, this contempt for your brethren the bishops, who have done nothing to merit such treatment? Do you then look upon the precepts of Jesus Christ as upon fables? or know you not that he hath said, Let him who is chief among you be as though he were the servant of others? Stupid animal, replied Papas, it becomes thee truly to teach me what I know better than thou dost! At these words Milles took the gospels out of his breast, and put the book upon a cushion, and addressing himself to Papas, said, If you are ashamed to learn your duty from me, who am but a mortal man, learn it at least from this gospel, which you see plainly enough with the eyes of the body, but not with the eyes of the understanding. Then Papas, like a man frantic and possessed, striking the sacred book with his hand, cried out, *Speak, then, gospel; speak.* Milles hearing these profane words, took up the book, and turning himself to the people who were many in number, he put it to his mouth, and to his eyes, and then raising his voice, O proud man, said he to Papas, the Angel of the Lord will punish thy insult against the word of everlasting life. One half of thy body shall wither in a moment, that so sudden a punishment may be a conspicuous proof of the just severity of God against the proud and the profane. But thou shalt not die presently; God will continue thy life for some years, because he will make of thee an example for those who are like thee. On the instant Papas fell to the ground, and was struck with a palsy which took away the use of one side of his body; and in

“ this condition he lived twelve years, and then died.  
 “ This happened A. D. 314.

“ Such is the relation which the Syrians have given us of Papas, primate of the east. Our age has little faith for the *marvellous*, and chuses rather to ascribe such events to natural causes ; and indeed violent fits of anger \* have sometimes brought on palsies. But it is not unsuitable to Divine Providence so to order second causes, that the punishment of a notorious sinner shall tread close upon his crime, and that even the incredulous shall never be able to determine that there is nothing miraculous in it.” *Beausobre Hist. du Manich. i. p. 184.*

Beausobre took this account from Asseman’s *Bibl. Orientalis*, and refers the reader to it.

*Milles*, as Sozomen relates, was at first a soldier in the Persian army, embraced Christianity, and was made bishop of a city in Persia, where he was often cruelly used and beaten by the infidels. Finding that his labours amongst them were unsuccessful, and that he could not make one proselyte, he departed thence, having pronounced a malediction on the city, which not long after was destroyed by the king, together with its inhabitants. Setting out as a pilgrim, and carrying with him nothing but the gospel, he went to visit Jerusalem ; thence he travelled to Egypt to see the

\* The death of Nerva and Valentinian the first, is ascribed to a violent fit of anger ; and, to descend from emperors to lower persons, we read, that a master of Trinity College in Cambridge, scolded himself into a palsy : but these are no objections to the story here related, according to which the distemper was foretold by a good man, and inflicted upon a bad man, and there is nothing in the account itself that should incline us to reject it.

the monks \*, and returning home he suffered martyrdom with many other Persian Christians in the persecution under Sapor, about A. D. 340. He is said to have wrought miracles.

This account Sozomen took from Syrian writers, ii. 14.

WE are now coming to the age of Constantine, to the faint struggles of expiring Paganism, to Christianity by law established †, and to a church blessed, perhaps, with prosperity and virtue : but it is hard for men to join these two together in stable alliance, which so many causes concur to keep asunder. From the age of Constantine the divine providence so ordered it, that Christianity was the reigning religion in the Roman empire, under Christian emperors, a small interval excepted in the reign of Julian ; and this seems to have been necessary for its support. In process of time it was so much altered and defaced, that without the protection of the civil magistrate, it might have been in danger, and Paganism, new modelled and refined by philosophers might have found too many advantages over it. Thus things went on from bad to worse, till the Reformation rescued the gospel in some degree from the vile hands into which it was fallen. Such was the state of religion for many ages ;

*Nihil aderat adjumenti ad pulchritudinem, ut ni vis boni  
In ipsa inesset forma, hæc formam extinguerent.*

E e 3

But

\* Perhaps to see whether the great things which fame reported concerning them were true.

† The completion of the prophecies, in the establishment of Christianity, and in the destruction of the persecuting princes, shall be considered in another volume, *Deo volente*.

But Christianity, at the very worst, and under the greatest disadvantages, could not lose all her excellence, and undoubtedly produced good effects on thousands and ten thousands, whose lives are not recorded in Ecclesiastical History; which, like other history, is for the most part a register of the vices, the follies, and the quarrels of those who made a figure and a noise \* in this world.

The sacred writers foretold this fatal change and great apostacy, and thus the Divine Providence, which brings good out of evil, caused the very corruption of Christianity to be one proof of its truth.

\* Socrates at the close of his work observes, that if men were honest and peaceable, historians would be undone for want of materials.

A P P E N-



# A P P E N D I X

TO

## B O O K II.

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### I.

#### *Of the SADDUCEES.*

To \* \* \* \*

SIR,

**I**N the first book I have joined myself with those who think that the Sadducees did not reject the prophets, or at least that we cannot prove them to have been guilty of this fault. You incline to the contrary side, which throws me into a state of doubting, as I have in general a better opinion of your skill and judgment than of my own; but permit me to produce some further reasons for my sentiment.

The question you think is determined by Josephus, and I am very willing to appeal to him. Let us hear what he says to it :

—Νόμιμα πολλὰ τινα παρέδωσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσείως νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τῆτο ταῦτα τὸ Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκείνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων μὴ τηρεῖν. καὶ περὶ τῶν ζηήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφορὰς γενέσθαι συνέβαινε μεγάλας—

*The Pharisees have delivered to the people many precepts from the tradition of the fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses, and for this reason the Sadducees reject them, saying, that those are only to be accounted statutes and precepts which are written, and that those which are delivered down by tradition are not to be regarded: and upon this subject they have had perpetual disputations and great contentions. Ant. xiii. x. 6.*

Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι. φυλακῆς δὲ ὁδῶν τινῶν μελαπτοῖσις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων. πρὸς δ' τὴν διδασκάλου σοφίας, ἣν μετίασιν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρετὴν ἀριθμῶσιν.

*The Sadducees hold that the soul and body perish together, and think themselves bound to observe nothing besides the laws; but judge it right and commendable to dispute against the teachers of what is called wisdom.*

Σοφία here is Rabbinical, Pharisaical, traditionary wisdom, and its professors and doctors were called Σοφοί, *Chachams*. *Wisdom* is the doctrine of the Jewish schools and synagogues.

1. The Sadducees, says Josephus, observe the laws, and nothing else. Now νόμος and νόμοι, though strictly they mean *the law of Moses*, yet sometimes include the *prophets* in Jewish phrase, as *John* x. 34. *Is it not written in your law, I said, ye are gods; that is, in the Psalms. And again, xv. 25. that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause. In their law, that is, in the Psalms. St Paul, after having cited the Psalms, subjoins, Now we know that whatsoever things the law saith, &c. Rom. iii. 9.*

2. Josephus says, that the Sadducees observed *only* the laws, that is, if you please, the laws of Moses. Be it so; but this *only* is plainly opposed by him to the *unwritten law*, and therefore the prophets seem to be out of the question. The Pharisees, on the other hand,  
delivered

delivered precepts which were not written in the laws of Moses : and I add, nor in the prophets neither.

In the controversy between these two sects, the Sadducees did right in rejecting the oral and traditionary law, and our Saviour decided it on their side ; which also made them the more favourable to him during his ministry.

3. *The Sadducees received no precepts besides those which were contained in the law ; therefore they rejected the prophets.* I deny the consequence, for this reason, that there are in the prophets no νόμοι and νόμιμα, no laws, no statutes, no articles of Jewish faith, no *fundamentals*, which are not contained, either explicitly or implicitly, in the law of Moses. The prophets were not, properly speaking, legislators, but enforcers of the Mosaic system.

4. Josephus had no love for the Sadducees, and gives them a bad character, and had no reason to fear them, and was not at all disposed to spare them. If they had rejected the prophets, he would have charged them with it expressly, and not have left us to collect it from oblique hints, and dark intinuations. *Tantumne rem tam negligenter !* It is inconceivable.

5. The sacred writers of the New Testament, who have spoken of the Sadducees in many places, and have given us an account of their errors, have also omitted the mention of this capital one. Strange indeed ! To this must be added the silence of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and the *Recognitions of Clemens*, in which the Sadducees are censured for denying the resurrection of the dead, but not for rejecting the prophets.

6. Josephus writing against Apion, mentions the sacred books which were received by his nation, and  
boasts

boasts of the religious and uncommon care with which they had been preserved, and of the universal and uniform respect paid to them by the Jews, by ALL, and EVERY Jew, and consequently by Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. If it had not been so, the friends of Apion, and the adversaries of Josephus and of the poor Jewish nation, would have said to the historian, *Thou art an audacious romancer, to talk with such confidence and effrontery of this uniform consent, when a whole sect of thy countrymen reject all those books, the Pentateuch excepted.*

Here was the proper place for Josephus to mention the Sadducees with ignominy, as despisers of the prophets, and little better than apostates.

Δύο δὲ μόνα (εἰσι παρ' ἡμῶν) πρὸς τοῖς ἑκοσι βιβλία—τά δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα.—ἄλλον δ' εἰς ἔργον ὡς ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἰδίαις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν· τοσούτοις γὰρ αἰῶνος ἦδη παρὰ χηρότος, ἔτι προσθεῖναι τις ὕδεν, ἔτι ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, ἔτι μεταθεῖναι τιτόλημικεν. ΠΑΣΙ δὲ σύμφυτον εἶναι εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙΣ, τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ, καὶ τέτοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δεοί, θνήσκουσιν ἡδέως.

*Duo duntaxat et viginti sunt apud nos Libri—qui merito creduntur divini.—Quanta porro veneratione libros nostros prosequamur, reipsa apparet. Cum enim tot jam sæcula effluxerint, nemo adhuc nec adjicere quicquam illis, nec demere, aut mutare aliquid est ausus. Sed OMNIBUS JUDEIS statim ab ipso nascendi exordio hoc insitum atque innatum est, DEI ut hæc esse PRÆCEPTA credamus, iisdemque constanter adhærescamus, ut eorum causa, si opus fuerit, libentissime mortem perferamus.*  
i. 8.

7. The Sadducees lay under no temptation to discard the prophets; for the traditions which they opposed and hated were not grounded on the prophets,  
but



but on the oral law, and the decrees of the fathers. If a future state had been so taught by any prophet as to leave them no room for doubts and evasions, they might have been induced to decline his authority ; but there is nothing of that kind in the sacred books which they did not think themselves able to shuffle or explain away, without having recourse to the desperate expedient of condemning those books. The truth is, that the Sadducees had as poor disputants as themselves to deal with, and contended with adversaries who knew not how to urge the proper arguments from reason and revelation, and from historical facts contained in the Scriptures, in favour of the permanency of the soul, and a future state.

8. The Sadducees conformed to the Pharisees in many things, says Josephus, for fear of the people. If they had struck any of the sacred books out of the canon, it would not have been endured ; for they could not reject the prophets without treating them as *liars* and *impostors*. In this case there can be no *medium*. Whosoever speaks as a prophet in the name of the Lord, must be a sacred messenger, or a vile deceiver. If the Sadducees had dared to treat David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, &c. in this manner, the people would have stoned them as blasphemers ; at the least, they certainly would not have held communion with them as they did.

9. They knew that Moses had promised a succession of inspired teachers, and had left Joshua for his prophetic successor.

10. They, like the rest of the Jews, had no right to their own lands but by prophetic appointment, and if they rejected the book of Joshua, they rejected the charter by which they held them. They had no claim  
to

to the priesthood (and yet some of them were priests) but by their genealogies, which stood partly upon prophetic authority.

11. It hath been the temper of all people, it was more particularly the temper of the Jews, to honour and reverence their ancestors. One cannot suppose, unless there were overbearing evidence for it that the Sadducees accounted their whole history, and all their own annals from their entrance into Canaan, to have been a bundle of fictions, and their forefathers, from Joshua to Malachi, to have been made up of two sorts of men, of deceivers who pretended to prophecy, and of dupes who were deluded by them. The very Pagans believed more than this, and paid more regard than this to the Jewish prophets, of whom some had been consulted, protected, and honoured by neighbouring princes.

12. The Sadducees, you will perhaps say, admitted what was *historic*, and discarded what was *didactic* in the sacred books ; but see what follows : the Sadducees believed a God, and admitted his government, and a general providence rewarding and punishing the Jewish nation, according as the people observed or neglected the law of Moses. Now add to this that they rejected the prophets, and from such a system it must have followed, that God suffered the nation to flourish most under David and Solomon, who both pretended to be prophets ; that Ahab, Jezebel, and other wicked princes did well in cutting off the prophets, and yet were cut off themselves for it ; that Moses gave them a most useless instruction how to distinguish true from false prophets, instead of admonishing them to receive none ; that the prophets foretold the fates of their own country, and of neighbour-  
ing

ing nations, that their predictions were accomplished, and that, notwithstanding all this, they were false teachers, &c. and yet we read of no *bedlam* erected at Jerusalem for the reception of *these* Sadducees.

13. Some of the Jewish fasts, and feasts, and religious customs stood upon prophetic authority, and with these the Sadducees complied. They paid as much regard to the temple, and to the service of the temple as the other Jews, for which they had only prophetic warrant, and they heard the prophets read in the synagogues.

14. They came at first to John the Baptist as to a prophet, though perhaps afterwards, like the Pharisees, finding that John was not such an one as they expected, and that he had borne testimony to Christ, they slighted and rejected him. See *Matth.* iii. 7. *Luke* vii. 30. and the commentators.

15. The Rabbins, in their disputes with the Sadducees, have never charged them with discarding the prophets; but, on the contrary, reason against them from the prophets. Of this many instances might be given from their writings.

*Interrogarunt Sadducæi R. Gamalielelem, undenum probaret Deum mortuos vivificaturum. Dixit illis, Ex Lege, ex Prophetis, ex Hagiographis: ex Lege, Deuter. xxxi.*

*16. ex Prophetis, Esai. xxvi. 19. ex Hagiographis, Cant. vii. 9. Gemara Sanhedrin cap. 11.*

Here are the texts produced by this doctor for proofs of a resurrection.

*And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, &c. Deut. xxxi. 16. Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise: awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead.*

*Isa.*

Isa. xxvi. 19. *And the roof of thy mouth like the best wine; for my beloved, that goeth down sweetly, causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak* \*, Cant. vii. 9.

The doctor seems to have been in great distress for a proof *ex Hagiographis*. Surely he might have made a better choice.

In the question before us, the learned are divided : on your side are Origen, Tertullian, Jerom, Petavius, Prideaux, &c. on my side, Jos. Scaliger, Pearson, Van Dale, Le Clerc, Samuel and James Basnage, &c.

The case I take to have been this : The Sadducees admitted the prophets, as sent from God to instruct and reform the nation, and to enforce the law ; but they held that all articles of faith, and fundamentals of religion were contained in the law, and were to be sought no where else. So that in reality they paid more regard to the prophets than did the Pharisees, who equalled their silly traditions to the sacred books. In preferring Moses to the prophets, the Jews seem to have been all pretty well agreed, and they made his superiority to consist in several things.

Thus you see, Sir, that I am not willing to give up the point without a struggle. I have been pleading my cause again, partly for my own sake, lest I should seem to you to take up opinions at mere hazard, and lay them down as easily ; and partly for your sake, that if you should do me the favour to reply, you may not have a tame and passive antagonist to deal with;  
in

\* *Rabbi Schabtai* published in the year 1683, a catalogue of Rabbinical writers, and called it, *Labia Dormientium*, from *Cantic. vii. 9.* which of all the fantastical titles that I can recollect, is one of the prettiest. It hath a double meaning, of which Schabtai was not aware ; for most of his rabbinical brethren talk very much like *men in their sleep*.



in conquering whom there would be no credit. If I fall, I could wish to fall like Hector in Homer, by an honourable hand, and after an honourable resistance :

Μὴ μὰν ἀσπᾶδεί γε ἢ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,  
Ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τὶ καὶ ἰσσομένοισι πωθέσθαι.

II. x. 304.

## II.

### *An ORACLE in Herodotus.*

viii. p. 483.

Ἄλλ' ὅταν Ἀρλέμιδος χρυσάορον ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν,  
Νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι, ἢ εἰναλίην Κυνόσκραν,  
Ἐλπίδι μαινομένην λιπαρὰς πᾶσαντες Ἀθήνας,  
Δῖα δίκη σθέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος ᾗδον,  
Δεινὸν μαιμώνισα, δοκεῖντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πωθέσθαι.  
Χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ (συμμιζέται, αἵμασι δ' Ἀρης  
Πόντον φοιῖζει· τότε) ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμᾶρ  
Εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει, ἢ πύοντι Νίκη.

*Auricomæ densis ubi litora sacra Dianæ  
Navibus insternent, et litoream Cynosuram,  
Spe stolidæ fortes quod Athenas dilacerarunt,  
Compescet juvenem meritissima pœna superbum,  
Instinctum furis, sibi cedere cuncta putantem.  
Nam Miscebitur æs æri, Mars sanguine pōntum  
Inficiet : Graiis tunc libera tempora reddet  
Saturno genitus, simul et Victoria pollens.*

This oracle was supposed to have been delivered by *Bacis*, before the battle of Salamis, and to have been fulfilled in the signal victory which the Greeks then obtained over Xerxes.

On this oracle I received the following observation :

*Give me leave to propose to you this question, Whether in your Remarks, Book I. p. 115. κρατερὸν κόρον ὕβριος ᾗδον, be rightly translated Juvenem superbum? I apprehend that*

that Gronovius has mistaken the word *κόρος*, which signifies here, not *juvenem*, but *fastum*, or *insolentiam*. My reason for this opinion is, that I find Pindar uses the word in this sense *Olymp. xiii. 12.* where also he gives Insolence the same parentage which the oracle attributes to it, viz. Pride, "Ἔριμ. His words are these : speaking of the social virtues that dwell at Corinth, he says,

Ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλεξεῖν Ἔριμ κόρον

Μαίερα θρασύμυθον.

where it seems necessary that *κόρος* must signify insolence, or some such concomitant of pride. In *Olymp. A. 89.* *κόρῳ δ' ἔλεν*—The scholiast says, *κόρῳ, τῇ Ἔρει ἢ ἀλαζονείᾳ.* the words that follow, indeed, shew that it was a metaphorical sense in which the word is here used in the opinion of the Scholiast : but this is not the case in *Olymp. xiii.* nor is it the case in *Olymp. ii. αἶνον ἔβα κόρος.* which is thus explained : *τὸν ἐπαινὸν τὴν δόξαν τῷ Θήρῳ, κόρος δὲ Ἔρις.* The Scholiast here plainly takes *κόρος* to signify pride, or some of its malignant attendants. And as from these passages it seems that the word may have the meaning of insolence, so I fancy you will not think it an inconvenient sense in the oracle cited. The insolence of the Persians, confident in their immense superiority, in the number of their troops, and spreading desolation in their march, is nobly painted in the verses following that which you have quoted, and this insolence seems a very fit object of divine punishment. I need not add, that if this interpretation be the true one, the expression is not in the Oriental manner, but entirely Grecian.

THE sameness of expression in Pindar and in the oracle is very well observed by this gentleman, and these two writers were contemporaries : but the passage in Pindar, *Olymp. xiii.* is obscure, and has perplexed his Commentators.

*Abundance*

*Abundance begets insolence* : so says Theognis, and so says all the world ;

Τίλλει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλος ἔποισθ.

But Pindar, if the passage be not corrupted, inverts the proverb, and says, "Υβρις τίλλει κόρον.

Ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλεξέειν ὕβριν, κόρος

Μαίερα θρασύμυθον.

*Volunt autem arceire Injuriam, Satietatis*

*Matrem audaciloquam.*

The Scholiast censures the bold poet for the impropriety of the expression, for putting the cart before the horse. H. Stephen, for κόρος conjectures φθόρος. The Oxford Editor retains κόρος, and admits the *hypallage*, and construes it backwards. If it be supposed that κόρος here is *insolence*, it is hard to conceive how ὕβρις can produce it; because there is too much identity between κόρος and ὕβρις.

Instead of Μαίερα θρασύμυθον, Pindar should rather have said θυγάλεα.

Pindar often uses the word κόρος, commonly in the sense of *nimia satietas* and *saturitas*, and of *dislike* and *loathing*, and sometimes for *insolence* or *envy*.

*Pyth.* i. 160.

Ἀπὸ δ' κόρος ἀμβλύνει

Διανὴς τάχειας ἀπάδης.

*nimia satietas, fastidium.*

And so, *Nem.* x. 37.

"Ἔσι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀν-

θρώπων βαρὺς ἀνηϊάσαι.

And *Pyth.* viii. 43.

μὴ κόρος ἐλθὼν

Κνίσσῃ.

And *Nem.* vii. 77.

κόρον δ' ἔχει

Καὶ μέλι.

*Olymp.* ii. 173.

Ἄλλ' αἶνον ἔβα κόρος.

κόρος in this place may mean *envy*, excited by the glory and reputation of Theron, which was so great that his enemies could not bear it : and the word retains some idea of *over-abundance*.

*Nem.* i. 97.

σὺν πλαγίῳ

Ἄνδρῶν κόρῳ σείχοντα.

Here κόρος seems to mean *oppressive insolence*.

*Olymp.* i. 89.

κόρῳ δ' ἔλεν

Ἄταν.

κόρῳ, that is, *πλησμονῇ*, as the Scholiast rightly interprets it. Too much affluence and prosperity ruined him.

*Isthm.* iii. 4.

καίλει

Φρασὶν αἰανὴν κόρον.

i. e. *petulantiam ex satietate provenientem*.

But to come to the Oracle, if we should suppose that κόρος there means *fulness*, or *insolence*, or *pride*, yet the author made a *person* of it, and by that *person* he meant *Xerxes*, as it appears, I think, from the fifth verse—κόρον—

Δεῖνεν μαιμώοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πυθέσθαι.

which I translate,

*Vehementer furemtem, putantem se omnia rescivisse. imagining that he had good intelligence, and knew all that passed amongst the Greeks.* He alludes to the stratagem of Themistocles, who sent word to Xerxes that the Greeks were in confusion, and preparing to run away, and advised him to seize the opportunity of inclosing and cutting them to pieces. By this trick the Athenian general, who had in him as much of the fox

as



as of the lion, brought on a battle, which was what he wanted.

Who can tell whether the priest who composed this oracle, might not use on purpose the ambiguous word *κόρος*, which may mean either *a young man*, or *fulness and satiety*, and so denote Xerxes, a young prince swelled with pride and glutted with ravage? Ambiguity suits an oracle, and a little jargon is not amiss.

The translator of Herodotus rendered *κόρον*, *juvenem*, and Gale and Gronovius let it stand, and adopted it: and if it means a *person*, the phrase *ὑέριος ὕον*, may be accounted oriental and scriptural.

### III.

IN the first book of these Remarks, p. 91. mention is made of a dream related by Grotius. The story is to be found in the Life of Jacobus Guionius. *Cum Philibertus De La Mare, Senator Divionensis, vitam Jacobi Guionii describeret, non indignum sua narratione existimavit, quod non Guionio ipsi, sed Quaræo collegæ montium nescio cujus Genii nocturnum acciderat. Sed* me locus admonet, ne rem inauditam hactenus, et ideo seculorum omnium memoria dignissimam præteream; quam etsi haud pertinere videatur ad Guionios, non abs re tamen hoc loco referre mihi visum est: sen, quia conscius illius fuit ac interpret Jacobus Guionius; seu quod vix apud posteros fidem inveniet, nisi testium omni exceptione majorum, et illius inter alios, cui illa contigit, testimoniis et subscriptionibus probata fuisset; ea tamen fuit: Fœderatorum factione plus justo in Burgundia valente, Regiarum partium Præsides ac Senatores Semurium, primarium Mandutiorum oppidum Regis nomine jus dicturi secesserant, cum Divione non liceret; ac inter eos Joannes Quaræus, qui

feliciter miscuerat ornamenta togæ artibus belli. Is iv. calendas Augusti MDXCIV. circa secundam diei horam matutinam sibi visus est motu subito expergefieri, et verba quædam ignota pronuciare, cum famulo propius decumbenti surgere, et lampadem accendere jusso præcepit, ut eademmet verba, quæ, ne sibi elaborerentur, dentibus quasi retinere videbatur, scripto consignaret in hunc modum : *Oug aposondes ton endon distiguion.* Quod famulus confestim exsecutus est, neutro eorum, Græcane illa essent, an Arabica, aut alia, sciente. Quarræus quidem, quamvis abunde iis artibus excultus, quæ viro Senatorio conveniunt, in suis Professionum tabulis, ex quibus hæc historia a me excerpta est, scribit ingenue, se Græci sermonis plane fuisse inscium. Summo demum mane pergens in Senatum Quarræus Jacobo Guionio, quicum illi consuetudo intercedebat, obvius fit, et vix salutatum rogat, ut ille verba, quæ ex sola eorum asperitate Græca esse conjectabat, interpretari vellet ; quæ a Guionio lecta, Græca statim esse deprehendit, sed minime ex Homero excerpta, quod putavit novus quidam Philosophus ; hac autem ratione describenda : *οὐκ ἀπώσονται τῶν ἐνδον δυσυχίων.* Quibus et interpretationem addidit verbis totidem : *Non repulsuri, Quod intus infortunium.* Horum vero cum diu sensum simul perpenderissent, et si quid tristius in iis lateret, deprehendere conati fuissent, autor fuit Quarræo Guionius, ut, quia jam ex illa domo, quam Semurii incolebat, migrare constituerat, quod illius fœtori recurrentem iterum iterumque cœliacum dolorem, quem passus fuerat, tribueret, non longiorem in illa moram traheret. Sed longe gravius exitium illa verba portendebant : siquidem post dies octo, cum Quarræus Reipublicæ causa Flavjniaeum, Regiarum partium oppidum, perrexisset,

domus

domus illa a fundamentis convulsa de nocte repente concidit, fatalique, nec penitus improvisa Guionio ruina suos incolas oppressit : cujus rei historiam elegantissimi carmine (ut audio) Guionius postea cecinit, quo tam charum Regi et Reipublicæ caput jure merito e tanta clade ereptum fuisse sibi et bonis omnibus gratulabatur, minime omisa, ut debuit, Socratis et Bruti Geniorum mentione.

*Memorabilis hæc sæpe historia est, quæ, etsi ad Guionii personam non pertineret, occasione tamen a Guionio data inductus, minime prætermittendam existimavit Philibertus De la Mare : atque exemplo aliis fuit, quomodo in hoc argumento sit versandum. Morhof. Polyhist. i. 19. p. 217.*

This seems to be the original (and a well attested) story, whence the accounts of Grotius, Salmasius, and La Mothe le Vayer were derived. I am obliged to Mr Samuel Johnson for referring me to this place in Morhof.

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IV.

*Josephus.*

Bell. Jud. iv. 6. Οἷς οὐκ ἀπισήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνες ἐαυτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν.

*This place, says a friend, wants emendation, as you have observed, Remarks, book i. p. 69. Perhaps it should be οἷς οὐκ ἐπισήσαντες. Ἐπίσημι, amongst other things, means animum intendere, animadvertere, and the sense will be—which predictions the Zealots not considering, or observing, or regarding, they caused them to be fulfilled—*

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V.

Vol. I. p. 282. *Such were Van Dale and Moyle.*

Van Dale hath not declared himself fully of that opinion : but he rejected all the Pagan accounts of ma-

gicians, incantations, prophecies, oracles, miracles, &c. and he gave no credit to the ejections of dæmons after the age of the apostles and of the apostolical men, and to the stories which the fathers have related concerning dæmoniacs. He observes, that in the days of the apostles, the gift of casting out evil spirits, like other miraculous powers, was conferred upon a *few* persons, and to them only for *great* and *special* purposes; whence he concludes, against Tertullian and others, that in the subsequent ages *every Christian* could not have been endued with this power. According to his system, dæmons not being any longer permitted to take possession of human bodies, there was no occasion for exorcists. Every example of this kind, which might have been alledged, he would either have called in question, as not well attested, or would have ascribed to a divine power and to good angels.

In Gerard Brant's History of the Reformation it is related, that in the year 1566 the boys and girls who were educated in the charity school at Amsterdam, were possessed with evil spirits, and agitated and tormented to such degree as to feel the ill effects of it all their lives after; and that during this disorder they spake new languages, and revealed the secret counsels and designs carried on against the Protestants.

Upon which Van Dale thus delivers his opinion: *Historiam hanc revera contigisse minime nego. Verum enimvero unde habent hi, prudentes alias et sinceri scriptores, hæc Diaboli, in his pueris supernaturali modo operantis, opera atque effectum fuisse?—Nam si hic aliquid super aut præternaturale statuendum, considerandum est, minime pueros illos, Diabolica quadam malignitate, in homines quosvis incolasse, ipsosque pulsasse aut lacerasse, aliisque maniacorum furoribus incensos ulla mala perpetrasse,*



*se, dum ipsi tam dira paterentur; sed ex aduerso, Mirabilia multa, de rebus præsentibus et plane occultis, manifestasse, ac quidem talia, quæ Protestantibus, qui tunc premebantur summis angustiis, utilia possent esse ac salutaria, contra persecutores, qui omni astu Diabolico et crudelitate ipsos dispergere ac disperdere conabantur.*——

*Pietati certe ac rectæ rationi, ipsique Sacræ Scripturæ, maiorumque istorum temporum statui, longe magis convenit, talia nos providentiæ Divinæ Majestatis, attribueret, ut quæ in illis rerum angustiis, per talia, ut sibi caverent, piis ac probis Reformatæ vitæ et doctrinæ hominibus auxilio esse voluit.* Dissert. de Idol.

Van Dale, a man not inclined to credulity, a scholar and a physician, moved by the authority of wise and worthy persons, and candid historians, was willing to admit the fact, and inclined to account it preternatural. He will not allow it to have been by the operation of evil dæmons; and yet, on the contrary, there are reasons, though he takes no notice of them, to think that a good spirit would not afflict children in such a manner; and therefore some will be of opinion that the case of these young persons was a bodily disorder, and a species of enthusiastic madness, exaggerated by the first relaters, and by common fame.

A reformation is seldom carried on without a heat and a vehemence which borders upon enthusiasm, and as Cicero hath observed, that there never was a great man *sine afflatu divino*, so in times of religious contests, there seldom was a man very zealous for liberty, civil and evangelical, and a declared and active enemy to insolent tyranny, blind superstition, political godliness, bigotry, and pious frauds, who had not a ferven-

cy of zeal which led him on some occasions somewhat beyond the sober bounds of temperate reason. When men are thus disposed and have animated each other, and are inflamed by opposition, persecution, and ill usage, they are strongly inclined to expect a divine interposition, and to explain every strange appearance that way. The impetuosity spreads far and wide, and seizes even upon children.

But as to the fact before us, I leave it, as I have some other points, undecided, to the judgment of the reader.

Many stories of this kind, but not so well attested, have been related concerning the Protestants in *Dauphiné* and the *Cerennes*. It is said, amongst other strange things, that one of them to prove himself a prophet, ordered a pile to be made and kindled, and stood unhurt for a quarter of an hour in the midst of the fire, whilst the flame surrounded him on all sides, and made an arch over his head, and that more than twelve hundred persons were present, and spectators of the miracle. See *Le Theatre sacré des Cerennes*, by *Misson*, which he wrote to defend the cause of the *French prophets* here in England. But these prophets, were at last put, not out of countenance (for such people never blush) but put to flight, when they had failed of their promise to raise a dead man, and had fallen out among themselves. Vid. *Act. Erud.* 1708. p. 137. et 1714. p. 89.

There will, in all probability, be a succession of such kind of persons in every age, and in one part or other of the Christian world, not exactly alike, nor yet very different.

*Facies non omnibus una,  
Nec diversa tamen : qualem decet esse sororum.*

## VI.

*Irenæus.*

i. 22. Ed. Massuet.

*Omnia per ipsum fecit Pater—non per angelos, neque per virtutes abscissas ab ejus sententia.*

*Virtutes*, Δυνάμεις. For *sententia*, it should perhaps be *substantia*, or, *essentia*. εἶσα.

i. 22.

*Dicunt* [Basilidiani] *non oportere omnino ipsorum mysteria effari, sed in abscondito continere pertinere per silentium.* Grabe added *pertinere* from two manuscripts, which should be struck out, though it were in two hundred manuscripts. In the Greek it was, we may suppose, ἐν κρυπτῷ κατέχεν διὰ σιγῆς.

i. 24. *Saturninus—unum Patrem incognitum omnibus ostendit.*

Irenæus wrote ἀπέδειξε, that is, *posuit, constituit, esse docuit.*

i. 25.

*Ad detractionem dicini Ecclesiæ nominis.* So Grabe.

The former editions had, *ad detractionem divini nominis et ecclesiæ*, which was right. *Divinum nomen* is the name of Christ, or of Christianity.

ii. 28. p. 158.

*Neque nos erubescimus [or erubescamus] quæ sunt in questionibus majora secundum nos reservare Deo.*

In Greek it was μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, the things which are above us, and too high for us, as in Plato's *Timæus*, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν, ἃ γινῶναι τὴν γένεσιν, μείστον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Eusebius E. H. x. 1. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἃ ταῦτα μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογῶντες—

It should therefore be, *majora quam secundum nos.* The old interpreter of Irenæus translates word for word, without any regard to elegance ; but the  
meanness

meanness and closeness of his version helps us often to discover the words of the author.

iii. 11. p. 192.

*Quoniam autem sola illa vera et firma, et non capit neque plura præterquam prædicta sunt, neque pauciora esse Evangelia per tot et tanta ostendimus.*

*Non capit*, that is, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, *feri non potest, non oportet*. Tertullian is very fond of this word. See *Apol.* c. 17. *Quoniam* is ὅτι, *Quod*.

iv. 10. *Neque enim varie, neque elate, neque glorians elicit hæc.*

*Varie*, that is ποικίλως, *subdole, versute*.

## VII.

*Clemens Alexandrinus.*

*Cohort. pag. 74. Ed. Ox.*

Ἰδέτω τις ὑμῶν τὰς παρὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λατρεύοντας, κόμη ρυπῶν-  
τας, ἐσθῆτι πιναρᾷ ἢ κατάρρηγῃ καθυβρισμένους, καὶ τῶν μὲν παντά-  
πασιν ἀπειράτους, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ὀνύχων ἀκμαῖς ἐκτεθηριωμένους,—ἐτοί-  
μοι δοκῶσι πενθεῖν, ὃ θρησκειῦεν τὰς θεάς· ἐλέω μᾶλλον ἢ θεοσεβείας  
ἄξια πεπονθότες. *Conspiciuntur scepenumero, qui simulacris  
se addixerunt, comâ quidem sordidâ et incultâ, vestibis  
laceratis et squalore obsitis deformati, lavationibus prorsus  
abstinentes, unguibus in immanem longitudinem ex-  
crescentibus plane efferati,—Hi sane mihi lugere, Deos  
non colere videntur: ut qui ea patiantur, quæ misericor-  
dia potius digna sunt, quam pietate.*

This description of the Pagan saints suits strangely well some Christian saints who arose after the time of Clemens, and shews the wonderful uniformity of superstition.

Tertullian, pleading the cause of the Christians, says, *Sed—infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. Quo pacto? homines vobiscum degentes, ejusdem victus, habitus, instructus, ejusdem ad vitam necessitatis. Neque enim*  
*Brachmanæ,*



*Brachnanæ, aut Indorum Gymnosophistæ sumus, silvicolæ, et exules vitæ. Meminimus gratiam debere nos Domino Deo creatori. Nullum fructum operum ejus repudiamus; plane temperamus, ne ultra modum aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, tabernis, officinis, stabulis, nundinis vestris, ceterisque commerciis cohabitamus, hoc sæculum. Navigamus et nos vobiscum, et militamus, et rusticamur, et mercatus proinde miscemus. Apol. 42. But this was before the days of monkery.*

Ib. p. 75.

It becomes a wise man to seek heavenly things, κατ' ἔχρος ἐκείνης τῆς φαιειῆς ἀεροβάνηλα νεφέλης, *lucidam illam nubem per aëra sequentem.* He alludes to the *Ajax* of Sophocles, 32.

Κατ' ἔχρος αἴτσω.

Ib. p. 80.

Στραφεύμενόν σε κατέλιπεν ἡ γνώσις; τῇ δίκαια σημαίνοντος ἄκουε στρατήγῃ. *Militantem te apprehendit cognitio? audi imperatorem, qui nil tibi, nisi quod justum est, imperat.*

Hence it appears that Clemens thought it lawful for a Christian to serve in the army, if, when he was converted to Christianity, he was a soldier. I would translate it, *Obediens esto duci justa imperanti.*

Ib. p. 91.

Let us fly from the wicked world, the dangerous island; ἄδει δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πορνίδιον ὠραῖον Ἡδονῇ, πανδήμῳ τερπόμενον μουσικῇ.

Δεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰὼν, πολύαιν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν.

Νῆα κατέστησον, ἵνα δευδῆεν ὅπ' ἀκούγης.

*In ea autem cantat formosa meretricula, Voluptas, quæ publica vulgarique musica delectat:*

“ *Huc age profectus, illustris Ulysses, ingens gloria Græcorum,*

“ *Naxem siste, ut divinior vocem audias.*

The

The thought is pretty, and prettily expressed. Clemens compares *Pleasure*, the fair deceitful harlot, to the *Siren* singing to Ulyses. In Homer, *Odyss.* M. 184. it is not *Δεισέτην*, but *νωϊτέρην*. We must not imagine that *Δεισέτην* could be the true reading, or a various reading in Homer; for Cicero translates it,

*Auribus ut NOSTROS possis agnoscere cantus.*

Clemens altered *νωϊτέρην*, because it was not proper for his purpose. In Homer the *Sirens* speak who were two: Clemens introduces *Pleasure* speaking, and therefore changes *νωϊτέρην* into *Δεισέτην*.

Ib. p. 95.

Οἶαι μὲν αἱ βεβαί, τοῖτοι ἢ οἱ λόγοι ὅποιοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι, τοῖταιδε ἢ αἱ πρᾶξεις· ἢ ὅποια τὰ ἔγγρα τοῖστος ὁ βίος.

We have the same proverbial saying in Eusebius: Οἷον γὰρ τὸν λόγον, τοίονδε φασὶ τὸν τροπον. *Ut vulgo dicitur, Qualis oratio, talis vita*, vi. 3.

*Hæc poetica sunt*, says the editor of Clemens, *et facile in Iambicos versus transeunt*:

Οἶαι μὲν αἱ βεβαί, τοῖτοιδε χ' οἱ λόγοι.

Ὅποιοι δ' οἱ λόγοι, τοῖταιδε χ' αἱ πρᾶξεις.

Χ' ὅποια τὰ ἔγγρα, τοῖστος δ' ἐστ' ὁ βίος.

But these iambics are cripples, and would be glad to be dismissed, and to return to humble prose, as they were never intended for any thing better. It would be easy to convert much of this author's prose into verses at least as good as these. For example, p. 2. Οὐκοῦν ὥδῃ τῇ Εὐνόμῃ ἀγεται ὁ τέτλιξ, ὡς ὁ μῦθος βέλεται, χαλκῶν ἀνασίσσας Πυθοῖ τὸν Εὐνομον, αὐτῇ τῇ καθαῖα ἢ τὸν συναγωνίσιν τῷ Λοκρῷ· ὁ δὲ ἢ ἐκὼν ἐφίπταται, ἢ ἄδει ἐκὼν. This, if you will pardon a spondee or an anapæst in the fourth foot, falls into passable iambics:

ἐκὼν ὥδῃ τῇ Εὐνόμῃ

" Ἀγεται ὁ τέτλιξ, ὡς ὁ μῦθος βέλεται,

Χαλκῦν ἀναστήσας Πυθοῖ τὸν Εὐνομον,  
 Αὐτῇ κιθάρα, ἢ τὸν συναγωνιστὴν Λοκρῶν.  
 Ὅ δὲ ἢ ἐκὼν ἐφίπληται, καὶ δὲ ἐκὼν.

Clemens had a poetical genius, had studied the poets, and is perpetually borrowing their expressions, and made some poems himself, and, in his *Cohortatio*, particularly, writes in a poetical style, and gives us what one would be tempted to call *prose on horseback*, running too much into iambic measure; as p. 83.

Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐνὶ πανταρχῷ σωτήριος.

This is said without any intention to reflect upon our editor of Clemens, or to detract in the least from his learned and useful labours. It is impossible to attend equally to every thing, in so large a work, and it is no wonder, if he has left a gleanings for those who come after him.

Pædagog. i. 6. p. 127.

Θρέψαι δ' ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλὰ κίς

Πλείω πορίζει φίλτρα τῷ φύσει τέκνα.

*Aluisse inter homines scepe affert*

*Plura amoris incitamenta, quam procreasse liberos.*

The first verse wants the first foot. Write,

τὸ θρέψαι δ' ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλὰ κίς

Ib. ii. 2. p. 8.

Φιλῇ πολλὴν γλῶττιαν ἐκχέας μάτην

Ἄκων ἀκούειν ἅπερ ἐκὼν εἶπεν κακῶς.

*Demensque lingua multa cum profuderit,*

*Invitus audit quæ volens dixit male.*

From this poet perhaps Terence borrowed,

*Si mihi pergit, quæ vult, dicere; ea, quæ non vult,  
 audiet.*

Ib. ii. 2. p. 186.

τὸ τό μὲν ἐστὶν τὸ αἶμα, αἶμα τῆς ἀμπέλους, &c.

This passage shews that Clemens knew nothing of  
*transub-*

*transubstantiation*. See the editor. But there is a passage still stronger in Augustin against this unintelligible doctrine. *Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui. For our Lord scrupled not to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body. August. Contr. Adim. c. 12.*

*Haud pauca sunt vocabula, quæ, non dicam obscuram, sed nullam plane p. testatem subjectam habent; non secus quam Aristophanicum φλατσοθρατσοφλατσοθραττ.—Hoc observare est potissimum in vocabulis quibusdam, quæ grandia occultare dicuntur mysteria; qualia sunt vocabula Transubstantiationis, Præsentia corporis, non naturalis, sed sacramentalis, Ubiquitatis humanæ naturæ Christi, &c. Quæ adferimus, non quasi sola, sed ut eximia quædam exempla vocabulorum nihil significantium. Clericus Art. Critic.*

Ib. ii. 8. p. 211.

τὸ δὲ πλεκτὸν σέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτου λειμῶνος κοσμήσαντας, οἵκοι περιφέρειν, ὃ σφρόνων. *Ex puro autem prato contextam coronam pro ornamento domi circumferre, non est sobriorum hominum.*

*Hæc poetica sunt*, says the editor. Poetical they are, to be sure, for they are taken from these elegant lines of Euripides,

Σοὶ τόνδε πλεκτὸν σέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτου  
Λειμῶνος, ὃ δέσπονα, κοσμήσας φέρω,  
"Ενθ' ἔτε ποιμὴν ἄξιόν φέρβειν βοῖά,  
Οὐδ' ἦλθέ πω σίδηρος, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον  
Μέλιττα λειμῶν' ἥρινόν διέρχεται.

*Tibi hanc coronam contextam ex illibato  
Prato, o domina, fleribus ornatum fero;  
Ubi neque pastor vult pascere suos greges,  
Quo neque venit adhuc ferrum, sed illibatum  
Pratum cernum apīs peragrat.*

Hippol.



Hippol. Στεφαν. 73. where ἀξιοῖ is ill translated *vult*. The meaning is, *Where the shepherd presumes not to feed his flocks*.

Instead of ἡρινόν, in the last verse, I should like ἡρινός. Μέλισσα ἡρινός, *the vernal bee*.

Ib. p. 211.

ἄμφω δ' μαραίνετον (μαραίνεσθον) καὶ τὸ ἄνθος, καὶ τὸ κάλλος.  
*Ambo enim flaccescunt, et flos, et pulchritudo.*

See the same thought in an epigram of the *Anthologia*, L. vii. p. 616. *Ed. Brod.*

Πέμπω σοι, &c.

Ib. p. 213.

Οὐ δ' μελέχεις ῥόδων τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας. *Non es rosarum Pieriarum particeps.*

Taken from Sappho. The fragment, which makes us regret the loss of the poem, is thus :

Καθθανοῖσα δὲ κείσεται,  
οὐδέ ποτε μναμοσύνα σέθεν  
"Εσσεται, ἔδέπκ' ὕστερον"  
οὐ δ' μελέχεις ῥόδων  
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας· ἀλλ' ἀφανὴς  
κ' ἢν' Αἶδα δόμοις φοιλάσεις.

Whence Horace might borrow, *Carm. iv. 9.*

*sed omnes illacrimabiles*

*Urgentur, ignotique longa*

*Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

ii. 10. p. 235.

Τί γὰρ φρονιμόν

These verses are set right, pag. 254.

iii. 2. p. 257.

Τράπεζα πλήρης, καὶ κύλικες ἐπάλληλοι.

*Versus Iambicus.*

I take it to be prose. If it be verse, it is a *Stazon*.

Ib. p. 259.

Ἐνερίζει τῷ γαστήρῳ ἡ βάρβαρος ἀδικία κρατεῖ, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι

Διός

Διὸς ἐκείνς τὸ ὄμμα τὴς Θρᾷκας βλέπει. *Classi insultat Barbarus dominatum obtinet iniquitas, et ficti illius Jovis oculus Thracas respicit.*

He speaks of the Trojan war, ἀδικία κραεῖ—that is, *The perjured Trojans prevail, and Jupiter casts his eyes upon the Thracians*; for,

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ ἔν Τρῳάς τε καὶ Ἐκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσέ,  
Τὴς μὲν ἕα παρὰ τῇσι νόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ οἷζόν  
Νωλεμέως· αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινῷ,  
Νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν.

Homer II. n. 1.

Heinsius for ποιήσῃ reads ποιήσικῃ; and indeed Clemens uses that expression, *Strom.* ii. 493. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ τῇ ποιήσικῃ Διὸς τὴν αἰγίδα γράφουσι. which somewhat favours the commendation.

Ib.

Εὐγενὲς αἷμα βάβαρα πίνει πῆδια. *Ingenuus sanguis barbaros potat campos.*

*The blood drinks the fields*, says the translator. One would rather think that the fields drink the blood. *Ingenuum sanguinem barbari bibunt campi.*

Ib. p. 294.

Τὸ δ' ὄλον οὐκ ἐπίσταιμι ἐγὼ ψιθυρίζειν. ὅδ' ἀσάκεκλασμένος, πλάγιον ποιήσας τὸν τράχηλον περιπαλεῖν· ὥσπερ ἑτέρως ὁρῶ κιναίδας ἐνθάδε πολλὰς ἐν ἄσει, καὶ πεπιτλοκοπημένους. *In summa, nescio ego susurrare, neque fractus in obliquum reflexo collo ingredi, quemadmodum alios hic cinctos multos video in civitate, vulsosque ac picatos.*

*Cujusdam Comici verba*, says the editor. True; and therefore they should be written thus:

τὸ δ' ὄλον, οὐκ ἐπίσταιμι  
Ἐγὼ ψιθυρίζειν, ὅδ' ἀσάκεκλασμένος,  
Πλάγιον ποιήσας τὸν τράχηλον, περιπαλεῖν,

ὥσπερ

Ὡς περ ἑτέρας ὁρῶ κιναίδας ἐνθάδε  
Πολλὰς ἐν ᾄσει, καὶ πεπιτλοποιημένας.

Ib. p. 312.

Clemens concludes his book with an hymn to Christ :

Στόμιον πῶλων ἀδαῶν, &c.

*Videtur mihi*, says Bull, *hic hymnus desumptus ex Canticis sacris in primæva Ecclesia usurpatis, vel certe ad eorundem imitationem compositus.* Def. Fid. Nic. p. 189.

But it is undoubtedly the composition of Clemens : the style shews it, and the expressions, which he had used in the *Pædagogus*. Clemens was perhaps the first Christian who was capable of making such poems as this, and that which follows it.

Ib. p. 313.

Σοὶ τόνδε καὶ γὰρ Παιδαγωγέ, προσφέρω  
Λόγοισι πλέξας σέφανον, ἐξ ἀκηράτου  
Λειμῶνος.

*Hoc, Institutor, offero sertum tibi  
Orationis nexibus textum, integris  
E pascuis.*

This is an imitation of the verses of Euripides which are cited above.

Ib.

Ὡς ἐργάτις μέλιτ' ἅ χωρίων ἀπο  
Βλάστην τρυγῶσα, χρηστὸν ἐν σίμβλων πόνον  
Κηρὸν δίδωσι τὸν γλυκύν τῷ προσάτῃ.  
Εἰ καὶ βραχὺς δ' ἐγώ τις, οἰκέτης γε σός.  
*Ut artifex apicula, quando gramina  
Vindemiât campis, labore ex utili  
Ceram e favis domino suo dat optimam :*  
*Nam si licet minimus, tuus sum servulus.*

So Horace *Carm.* iv. ii. 27.

*ego apis Matince*

*More modoque, &c.*

There is the same thought in Plato's *Ion*; and thence perhaps Clemens took it.

Strom. i. p. 338.

Στρεπτή γδ γλῶσσα βροῶν. πολέες δ' ἐνὶ μῦθοι.

Here is a *γ* dropped.

Στρεπτή γδ *γ* γλῶσσα βροῶν.

But in Homer, *Il.* γ. 248. it is,

Στρεπτή δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροῶν.

Ib. p. 360.

Ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας.

The anonymous writer of the *Giants Wars*, cited here by Clemens, says, that Chiron

Εἰς τε δικαιοσύνην θνητῶν γένος ἦγαγε, δέξας

Ὅρκον, *γ* θυσίας ἱεράς, *γ* σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου.

*Is primum universum genus ad justitiam duxit, indicatis jurisjurandi formulis, Deorum lictis sacrificiis, et cæli figuris.*

Ὀλύμπου σχήματ'α, according to some, are the *celestial gods*; as Sir Is. Newton thinks, they are the *Asterisms* which Chiron delineated. Mr Wasse conjectured that it should be *σήματ' Ὀλύμπου*, the *signs of heaven*. Chiron brought the world to a sense of religion by teaching the obligation of an oath, the manner of sacrificing, and the signs of the divine will, or the threats and admonitions, the portents and prognostics of heaven. See the *Misc. Observat.* ii. p. 233. To the passages collected by Mr Wasse may be added these lines of Parmenides, as they stand in Clemens, *Strom.* v. p. 732.

Εἶση δ' αἰθερίαν τε φύσιν, τὰ τ' ἐν αἰθέρι πάντ'α

ΣΗΜΑΤΑ, *γ* καθαρᾶς εὐαγέος ἡελίοιο

Λαμπάδος ἔργ' αἶδῆλα, *γ* ὀππόθεν ἐξεγένοντο.

Ἔργα τε κύκλωπος πεύση περίφοισα σελήνης

Καὶ φύσιν.

*Ætheriamque*



*Ætheriamque scies naturam, et in æthere cuncta  
Signa et sacrati clarissima lumina solis,  
Quæ res obscura est valde ; unde et nata fuere.  
Et lunæ discès errantia signa rotundæ,  
Naturamque scies.*

Ib. p. 399.

Πολυιδὸς τε ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, ὃ μὲνιται ἡ τραγῳδία.  
*Polyidus Argis et Megaris, cujus meminit Tragædia.*

Homer also mentions him, *Il.* x. 663.

Strom. ii. p. 463.

Some writer says in a comedy,

Παιδισκάριον με, φησιν, εὐτελὲς καὶ ἀδεύλων.  
*Puellula, inquit, vilis me sibi servum fecit.*

which may be thus restored to its measure :

Παιδισκάριον με καὶ ἀδεύλων εὐτελὲς.

Strom. iii. p. 508.

It appears here that the Basilidians used the gospel of St Matthew, and St Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, but wrested and misrepresented them.

Strom. iv. p. 574.

Κακὸν ἔν ἦν τὸ παίδευμ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν  
Ὁ πλεῖστος ἀνθρώποισιν, αἵ τ' ἄγαν τυφαί.

*Nil pejus opibus fortitudinem docet  
Homines misellos, nimiaque luxuries comes.*

From Euripides ; but the first line is not a verse. Perhaps ;

Κακὸν μὲν ἔν τὸ παίδευμ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν—

Or :

Κακὸν τὸ παίδευμ' ἐστὶν εἰς εὐανδρίαν—.

Ib. p. 600.

Basilides says,—ὁ μοιχεῦσαι θέλων, μοιχὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ μοιχεῦσαι μὴ ἐπιτεύχει.

He alludes most manifestly to *Matt.* v. 28. Read, —μὴ ἐπιτύχει.

Ib. p. 635.

αἰ τὸ βῆλημα τῷ θεῷ σκοπῶν τῷ ὄντι,

ὅϊος πεπνυμένος, τοὶ δ' ὥς σκιαὶ αἴσσαν.

Every one hath seen that this is taken from Homer, and accommodated to the sentence with a small alteration : but it should not stand thus, like a verse, with a false quantity in it. It should be—αἰ τὸ βῆμα τῷ θεῷ σκοπῶν, τῷ ὄντι, οἷς πεπνυμένος.

τοὶ δ' ὥς σκιαὶ αἴσσαν,

Homer *Odyss.* κ. 494. says of Tiresias ;

τῷ καὶ τεθνήϊσι νόον πάρε Περσεφόνηα,

ὅϊα πεπνύσθαι τοὶ δὲ (κίχ) αἴσσαν.

*Strom.* v. p. 732.

Καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ὃς τὰδε λέυσσιν, θεὸν ἔχ' ἰνοεῖ, μέλειρόλογον  
δ' ἐκὰς ἔρριψεν σχολιὰς ἀπάτας, ὧν ἀτειρὰ γλῶσσα εἰκοβολεῖ περὶ τῶν  
ἀφανῶν, οὐδὲν γνῶμης μετέχουσα. *Ut ait Euripides, Qui hæc  
videns Deum mente non cogitat, de sublimibus autem re-  
bus disputationis procul tortuosas jacet fallacias, quas in-  
domita temere jaculatur lingua de iis quæ non videntur,  
nullius certe particeps sententiæ.*

The Latin version is somewhat incomprehensible, and *jargonie*. Let us pass it by, and consider the Greek, which may be thus put in better order, with very small alterations ;

Καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην,

ὅς τὰδε λέυσσιν θεὸν ἔχ' ἰνοεῖ,

Μελειρόλογον ἐκὰς ἔρριψεν

Σκολιὰς ἀπάτας, ὧν περ ἀτειρὴς

Γλῶσσ' εἰκοβολεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν,

οὐδὲν γνῶμης μετέχουσα.

The meaning of the fragment is perhaps this ;

*Qui hæc videns, Deum (auctorem) non sentit,*

*Is Sophistarum temere effutit*

*Perversos errores, quorum garrula*

*Lingua*

*Lingua male judicat de rebus non visibilibus,  
Omni sapientia destituta.*

In the third line you may read ὦν ἀτηρᾶ, which is the editor's conjecture.

Ib. p. 817.

ὥς γάρ πα τὸ ἀπὸ τῆ ἡλίου φῶς δι' ὑελῶ (κεύρας πλήρης ὕδατος με-  
λοδεύει ἡ τέχνη εἰς πῦρ—*nam ut ars viam excogitat, qua lux  
que a sole procedit, per vas vitreum aqua plenum ignes-  
cat.*

This was the burning glass of the ancients. See Pliny xxxvii. 2. and Aristophanes *Nub.* 764.

Strom. vii. p. 841.

Χῦλα μὲν βροθοφόρα

Χαίρεις ὀρῶσ' ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἐρείπια.

*spolia gaudes cum vides*

*Erepta cæsis, lacera, semidiruta.*

The second line is no verse. Perhaps,

Χαίρεις ὀρῶσα, καὶ νεκρῶν ἐρείπια.

which also makes better sense. *Tibi voluptati est videre spolia sanguinea, et cæsorum cadavera.*

Page 198. of this vol.

Εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν,—

I forgot to observe, that Bentley, in his epistle to Mill, corrects these verses ascribed to Sophocles, and rejects them as spurious. He says :

EFFICIAM ut posthac hi versiculi sano saltem pede possint incedere. Sic igitur emendo :

Ἐν ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν εἰς εἰςιν θεός,

Ὅς ἕρανόν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν,

Πόντον τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα, κανέμων βίας.

Θνητοί τε πολλὸν καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι

Ἰδρυσάμεσθ' ἀπημάτων παρὰ ψυχὴν,

Θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων ἢ χαλκίων

Ἡ χρυσοεὐκλίων ἢ λεφανρίων τύπος.

Θυίας τε τέτοις ἢ κενὰς πανηγύρεις

Τεύχεσις ὕτως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν.

Ita fere leguntur apud Justinum, Clementem, Eusebium, Theodoritum, et partim Athenagoram; adeo ut demirer interpretem (Malalæ) Chilmeadum, hominem sane pereruditum, in luce tam clara minus solito perspexisse. Sed non te celabo, quod pace sanctorum virorum dictum velim, vehementer me suspicari non esse hæc a Sophocle. Id adeo cur in animum inducam, si me interroges; dico, permirum mihi præter alia videri, tam illustrem locum Ecclesiasticis solis incurrisse in oculos, aliorum omnium aciem effugisse. Qui factum, uti dormitaret hic Plutarchi diligentia? Qui Porphyrium præterire potuit *περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων* tam insigne testimonium adversus τῶν θυσιῶν τὰς παρανόμους *φραγὰς*, ut ad hunc locum ait Theodoritus? Ubi tu, Stobæe, cessasti? tu, qui tot forulos bibliothecarum excussisti, Sophoclis autem et Euripidis monumenta studiose præter cætera lectitasti? Adeone paucos e Patribus, quid Patres autem dico? unumne aliquem tenebrionem, qui supposita persona librum ediderit (ut et olim et hodie nonnullorum opinio est, neque adeo injuria) cæteris omnibus perspicaciorem et diligentiores fuisse? Clemens enim aperte et ingenue fatetur Hecataei se fidem secutum, apud ipsum Sophoclem omnino non legisse. ὁ μὲν Σοφοκλῆς, ait *Strom.* v. ὅς φησιν Ἐκαταῖος ὁ τὰς ἰσορίας συνταξάμενος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀβραμὸν καὶ τὸς Αἰγυπτίους. Illud autem exploratum habeo tam a Justino et Clemente Patres alios accepisse, quam Justinum et Clementem commentitii ejus Hecataei auctoritate tradidisse. Quem ad hominem demum, et quam nulla fide res redierit vides. Illene ut Sophocli versiculos aliquot vereretur affingere, qui illum ipsum, quo



eos adduxit, librum ediderit simulata persona Hecataei? Ipsa praeterea oratio de se facit indicium. Non agnosco illud χαλκίων, et πολλὸν sumtum, ut aiunt, adverbialiter, esse hominis Attici, aut in tragœdia ferri posse. Qualis enim hæc foret confusio dialectorum, et, ut ait ille, sartago loquendi? Oportuit enim πελὺ et χαλκίων. Χαλκίων quidem a χαλκίως Attice dixeris; minime gentium a χαλκῆς, non magis melhercule quam ἀγαπάει vel Ἀριστοτέλους. χρύσεια, ait Phrynichus, ἀργύρεα, κυάνεα, χάλκεια, ταῦτα Ἰακὰ διαίρεμένα. χρὴ ἔν λέγειν, χρυσᾶ, ἀργυρᾶ, κυανᾶ, τὸν Ἀττικίζοντα. Χρυσῆς λέγε, τὸ γὰρ χρύσεος Ἰακὸν ὁταύτως ἢ ἀργυρῆς, χαλκῆς, κυανῆς, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Rogo denique cui personæ hæc oratio conveniat? Quave Sophocles fiducia die festo Ludorum (non alias enim in scena quam Panathenæis ac trinis Liberalibus tragœdiæ docebantur) illos ipsos dies festos et ludos solennes in contemptionem adduceret? Istuccine se impune laturum speraret? Nonne Æschyli periculum cautiorum eum faceret, qui, quod in Sisyphe opinor πείρου-  
μισσῃ ad Cereris mysteria curiosius videretur alludere, nisi ad aram Bacchi confugisset, illico trucidatus esset in scena: postea etiam in Areopago de capite suo causam dixit?—

Auget vehementer suspicionem nostram ipse Clementis in Protrepico, qui posteaquam versus eos tanquam Sophocleos protulit, Οὐτοσί μὲν, ait, ἤδη καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένος ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς θεαταῖς παρεισήγαγεν. Ergo et Clementis iudicio in capitis venisset discrimen, quicumque eos olim in scenam detulisset. Si alibi citantur hoc exemplo:

Θνητοὶ δὲ περὶ κερδείᾳ πλανώμενοι  
Ἰδρυσάμεσθαι ψημάτων παραψυχὴν,  
Θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων,  
Ἡ χρυσοεὐκίων ἢ λεφανίνων τύπας.

Quamobrem, quia nullus jam locus est censuræ nostræ in πολλὸν et χαλκίων, alia efferam argumenta oportet, cur subdititii sint. Multis sane nominibus non placet illud πολυκερδεΐα. Nam quid, obsecro, facit πολὺ in tragœdiæ diverbio? est enim ex dialecto Ionica. Neque vero δεια spondæus in sede quarta ferri potest contra morem consuetudinemque Tragicorum. Theocritus:

Καὶ φιλοκερδεῖν βεβλαμμένον ἄνδρα παρελθεῖν.

Neque porro πολυκερδεΐα de avaritia possis accipere cum interprete Clementis: verum ea sententia nimium quidem inepta et inficeta, quasi si *prudentia* sive *astutia* homines in errorem inciderint. Πολυκερδεΐα enim est πολυίδρεΐα. Ut Ulysses Homericus:

Οὐκ ἔα εἰπέμεναι, πολυίδρεΐσσι νόοιο,

Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἄλοχον πολυκερδεΐησιν ἄνωγε.

Sed et alia fertur scriptura nihilo melior:

Θνηταὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι.

Mihi quidem, salvo aliorum iudicio *nos multi mortales* parum ornate dici videtur pro elegantia Ἀττικῆς μελίτης. Sed utcunque de ea re visum fuerit eruditis, rogatos eos velim, qui luculenter Græce sciunt, utrum καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι domesticus sit sincerusque sermo Græcus, an potius peregrinus et πονηρὸν κόμμαλος? Nimirum suo se indicio prodit Judæus iste sorex. Neque enim Hellenismus est, verum Hebraismus purus putus ex S. S. tralatus atque expressus. *Psalm. xciv. (et Epist. ad Hebræos)* Ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδούς μου. *Esaias xxi.* Ἡ καρδίᾳ μου πλανᾶται. Imo enimvero negamus ista

Ἡ χρυσοεικόνων ἢ λεφανίνων τύπους,

ab homine Græco, nedum a Sophocle, proficisci posse. Τύπος hoc in loco est ipsa statua, αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα, οὐκ εἶδος τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ut apud Isocratem in fine *Evago-*  
*racē:*

να : τὰς μὲν τύπους ἀναγκαῖον παρὰ τέτοις εἶναι παρ' οἷς ἂν σα-  
θῶσι. Dicerent vero Græci

Ἡ χρυσοῦχος ἢ λεφαλίνος τύπος Θεῶν

non χρυσοῦχων. velut εἰκόνας dicunt χαλκᾶς Ολυμπιονικῶν,  
non χαλκῶν. Artemidorus : χάλκεαι γὰρ εἰκόνες τῶν ἐλευθέρων  
ἀνατίθενται. Ita passim et vulgo, ut quidem testimoniis  
uti putidissimum foret. Neque vero aliter Latini. Lu-  
cretius :

*Si non aurea sunt juvenum simulacra per cedes. non  
aureorum.*

Pli. ius xxxiv. 7. *Lignea potius aut fictilia deorum si-  
mulacra.*

Juvenalis :

*Effigies sacri nitet aurea cereopithecii.*

Horatius :

—*Quid referam—quo pacto—in imagine cerea*

*Largior arserit ignis.*

Itaque τύπος ἐλεφαλίνων Θεῶν nihil minus est quam Græca  
oratio : ea tamen utitur Sibylla iii. ξυλίνων Θεῶν εἶδωλα  
dicens pro ξύλινα.

Οἷτινες οὐκ ἀπατησι κεναῖς, ἢ δ' ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων

Χρυσέα ἢ χάλκεα, καὶ ἀργύρεα ἢ δ' ἐλεφαντός,

Καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε Θεῶν εἶδωλα καμόνων,

Πήλινα, μιντόχριστα, ζωγραφίας τυποειδεῖς,

Τιμῶσιν, ὅσα κέν τε βροτοὶ κενόφρονι βελῇ.

Eadem habet *Protrepticus* Clementis. Quis porro in-  
ficiabitur in eodem doctos esse ludo subjectorem hunc  
Oraculorum, et commentitiump illum Hecatæum? Quod  
si vicero de versibus falso Sophocli attributis, etiam  
illud evidentissime constabit, quod olim Philo Heren-  
nius, et patrum memoria Josephus Scaliger suspicati  
sunt, nempe librum illum *de Judæis* qui sub Hecatæi  
nomine ferebatur, a Judæo quodam Hellenista fuisse  
confictum ; velut Aristeam illum pari facinore, quem  
supposititium

supposititium esse convincunt post eundem Scaligerum alii bene multi, in quibus omnium doctissime et copiosissime Humfredus Hodijs.

One who should be disposed to dispute the point with Bentley, might say, that besides the first and illustrious Sophocles, there was a Sophocles his grandson, and a third in the time of the Ptolemies, and that they were all dramatic poets; and he might suppose that this fragment or a part of it, was possibly taken from the second or third Sophocles. See Fabricius *B. Gr.* i. 623. He might compound the matter, and conjecture that the three first lines were genuine, and the six following spurious.

If the *Cohortatio* was not written by Justin, Athenagoras was perhaps the first father who took notice of this passage, and he only cites the two first verses, which gives some reason to suspect that he never saw the rest.

But, upon a review of the whole, I must agree with Bentley, and reject this *pious fragment* as the work of one forger, or perhaps of two.

In the first verse,

Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν θεὸς

is preferable to

Ἐν ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν.

Bentley objects to

Θνητοὶ δὲ πονηκερδεῖα πλανώμενοι

that the fourth foot will be a spondee: but may not the diphthongs αι, ει, οι, be made short, when a vowel or diphthong follows in the same word? Sophocles *Philoct.* 1450.

Τίνα προσωφέλῃσιν ἔρξεις; Βέλεσι τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις—

And so in other places, if I remember right.

Homer, *Il.* 2. 105.



Τοῖσις ἑὼν, ὅς τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχίτων.

He observes, as I think, rightly, that an attic writer would not use *πολυκερδεία* in an iambic verse; but *πολύς*, for *πολὺς*, is rather a poetic license than an ionic dialect. The best objection to *πολυκερδεία* is, that it is nonsense.

Attic writers use the words *ἐλοίαστο*, *ἐψόιαστο*, *τιθέασι*, *διδόασιν*, &c. which seem properly to belong to the ionic dialect.

### IX.

The Epistle of the church of Smyrna says of the martyrs: τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπηνῶν βασανισῶν. *Frigidas ipsis videbatur immanium carnificum ignis.*

This passage, which hath been misunderstood, relates to the torments inflicted on the martyrs before they were put to death. They were treated like slaves and criminals, and tortured; and in such tortures *fire* was *usually* one instrument.

Q. Curtius says of Philotas: *Ac primo quamquam hinc ignis, illinc verbera, jam non ad questionem, sed ad poenam ingerebantur*,—vi. 11.

Cicero in *Verr.* v. 63. *Hucine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis Romanus—deligatus in foro vergis cederetur? Quid, cum ignes ardentesque lumine, ceterique cruciatus admovebantur?*

Seneca says of the emperor Caius: *Ceciderat flagellis senatores; ipse effecit ut dici possit, Solet fieri: torserat per omnia, quæ in rerum natura tristissima sunt, fidiculis, tabularibus, ceuleo, igne, cultu suo. Et hoc loco respondebitur, magnam rem! si tres senatores, quasi nequam mancipia, inter verbera et flammæ dixisset—De Ira iii. 19. Saxa, ferrum, ignem, Caium excepturi. De Brev. Vit. 18.*

[Domitianus]

[Domitianus] *plerosque partis adversæ—novo quæstionis genere distorsit : immisso per obscæna igne.* Suetonius *Domit.* x.

Cicero *Topic* 20. *Facit etiam necessitas fidem, quæ cum a corporibus, tum ab animis nascitur. Nam et verberibus, tormentis, igni fatigati, quæ dicunt, ea videtur veritas ipsa dicere.*

Propertius i. 1. 27.

*Fortiter et ferrum, sævos patiemur et ignes :*

*Sit modo libertas, quæ volet ira, loqui.*

iv. 7. 43.

*Lygdamus uratur, candescat lamina vernæ.*

Tibullus i. 10. 21.

*Ure meum potius flamma caput, et pete ferro*

*Corpus, et intorto verberare terga seca.*

Horace *Epist.* i. xv. 36.

*Scilicet ut ventres lamnæ candente nepotum*

*Diceret urendos.*

Juvenal xiv.

*Tum felix, quoties aliquis, tortore vocato,*

*Uritur ardenti propter duo lintea ferro.*

Ovid. *Met.* iii. 696.

*et dum crudelia jussæ*

*Instrumenta necis ferrumque ignisque parantur.*

Seneca *Oedip.* 862.

*Huc aliquis ignem : flamma jam excutiet fidem.*

Petronius : *In verba Eumolpi sacramentum juravimus, uri, vinciri, verberari, ferroque necari ; et quicquid aliud Eumolpus jussisset, tanquam legitimi gladiatores domino, corpora animosque religiosissimi addicimus.*

Seneca *Epist.* xxxvii. *Eadem honestissimi hujus, et illius turpissimi auctoramenti verba sunt, uri, vinciri, ferroque necari. Ab illis qui manus arene locant, et edunt*

*hic bibunt quæ per sanguinem reddant, cavetur ut ista vel invitati patientur; a te, ut volens libensque.*

*Epist. vii. Occide, ure, verbera. Quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum?—*

*Quintilian. Declam. ix. Fremebant ubique omnia apparatus mortis. Hic ferrum acuebat, ille accendebat ignibus laminas: hinc virgæ, inde flagella adferebantur.*

*Tertullian Apol. 15. Risimus et inter ludicras meridianorum crudelitates, Mercurium mortuos cauterio examinantem.*

*Ignatius Epist. ad Rom. 5. Πῦρ, ἡ σταυρὸς, θνήσκων τε ὑστάσεις, ἀνάσσειν, διαιρέσεις, κορπισμοὶ ὁσέων, ὑποκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλας τῆς σώματος, ἡ κόλασις τῆς διαβολῆς ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιύχω. Ignis, crux, ferarum concursus, sectiones, lanience, ossium discriptiones, membrorum concisiones, totius corporis contritiones, et Diaboli tormenta in me veniant, tantummodo ut Jesum nanciscar.*

*Justin. M. Dial. Κεφαλολομέμενοι γὰρ καὶ σταυρέμενοι, καὶ θέρῃσι παραβαλλόμενοι, καὶ δεσμοῖς, καὶ πυρί, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις βασάνοις, ὅτι οὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τῆς ὁμολογίας, δῆλόν ἐστιν. Quod namque dum gladio percutimur, et in crucem agimur, et bestiis obijcitur, et vinculis, et igne, et tormentis aliis omnibus plectimur et excruciamur, a professione nostra non discedamus; satis constat, &c. &c. &c.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.











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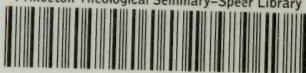
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